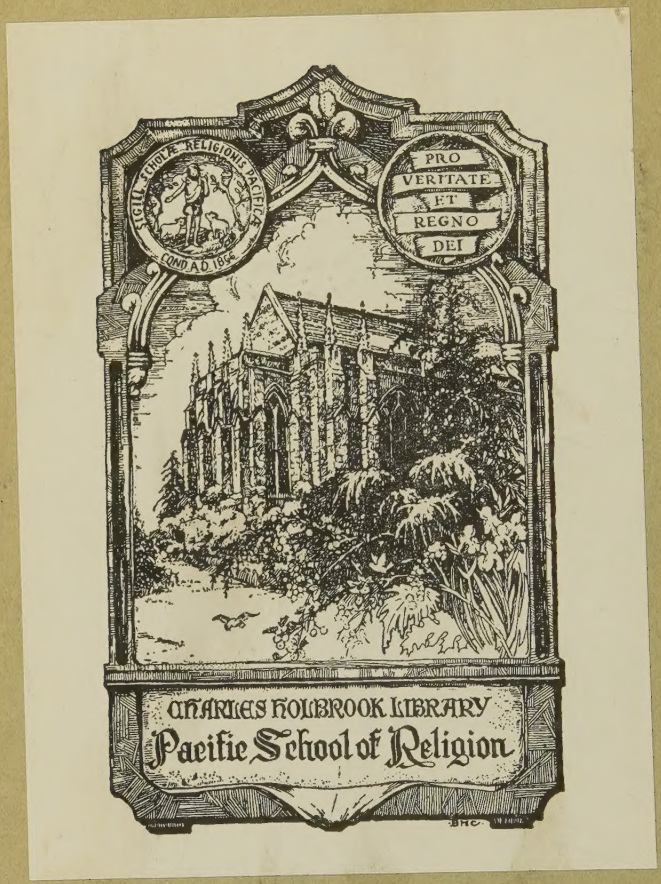
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THE MOSLEM WORLD

A Christian quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans

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VOLUME XXII

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A volume of Oriental, Biblical, and Other Studies is being prepared at Hartford and will be published by the Princeton University Press, in honor of the Reverend Professor Duncan Black Macdonald, D.D., for forty years Professor of Semitic Languages in the Hartford Seminary Foundation and foremost Orientalist in his special department of Muslim Theology. The volume is to be presented to him on his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933.

The contributors, who have been students of Professor Macdonald, and their articles are, in part, as follows:

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Statue of Raymund Lull at Palma, Majorca

"One step farther, but some slight response from his church or his age, and Raymund Lull would have anticipated William Carey by exactly seven centuries."

—GEORGE SMITH.

"In his assertion of the function of reason in religion and his demand that a rational Christianity be placed before Islam, this Don Quixote of his times belongs to our day."—FREDERICK PERRY NOBLE.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXII JANUARY, 1932 No. I

LULL'S MISSION AND MESSAGE

"There is no more heroic figure in the history of Christendom than that of Raymund Lull, the first and perhaps the greatest, missionary to Mohammedans. Though much less generally known, he deserves to be ranked with Francis of Assisi, who preceded him by a few years, who anticipated him in his desire to preach Christ to the Moslems, but who, in view of the revival work done in Europe by his preaching friars, may rather be regarded as the father of itinerant home missions. Raymund Lull loved and lived; and while he now lives for ever in the presence of the Lord he loved, his example lives on earth for missionaries in every age."—Eugene Stock, "History of the Church Missionary Society," Vol. I, p. 13.

"It is my belief, O Christ, that the conquest of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than as Thou and Thy apostles undertook to accomplish it—by love, by prayer, by tears, and the offering up of our own lives." [1]

"Lord of Heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with Jews, Pharisees, and other men: never by outward violence did they capture or slay any of the unbelievers, or those who persecuted them. This outward peace they used to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth. So, after Thy example, should Christians conduct themselves towards the Saracens." [2]

"How little profits it the pilgrims to roam through the world in quest of Thee, if when they have come back

1 "Contemplation of God," cxii. 250.
2 *Ibid.* cciv. 512.

from their pilgrimage they return again to sin and folly." [3]

"He who would find Thee, O Lord, let him go forth to seek Thee in love, loyalty, devotion, faith, hope, justice, mercy, and truth; for in every place where these are, there art Thou." [4]

"The image of the crucified Christ is found much rather in men who imitate Him in their daily walk than in the crucifix made of wood." [5]

"O Lord, alone in the Divine Essence! Much do I wonder concerning men who are in the true way, how it can be that after they have received the gift of true life they do not attempt to help those who are outside the truth into the true way." [6]

"Daily I behold men who are in the truth die without admonishing and preaching to the infidels that they may come to the Truth; and although Catholics know the truth in which they are, and the error in which the infidels are, nevertheless they do not take care to show the Truth to the infidels, or only so little, as if they did not know their own truth nor the falsity of the thoughts of unbelievers." [7]

"Let Christians, consumed with a burning love for the cause of faith, but consider that since nothing has power to withstand the truth, which by the strength of arguments is mighty over all things, they can, with God's help and by His might, bring back the infidels to the way of faith; so that the precious name of the Lord Jesus, which is in most regions of the world still unknown to the majority of men, may be proclaimed and adored; and this way of converting infidels is easier than all others. For to the infidels it seems a difficult and dangerous thing to abandon their own belief for the sake of another; but it will be impossible for them not to abandon, for the sake of that which is true and necessary, the faith which is proved to them to be false and self-contradictory. . . .

3 "Contemplation of God," I. cxiii.
4 *Ibid.* I. cxiii.
5 *Ibid.* II. cxxiii.
6 *Ibid.* xxv. 28.
7 *Ibid.* xxv. 29.

With bowed knee and in all humility, we pray that all may be induced to adopt this method; since of all methods for the conversion of infidels and the recovery of the Promised Land, this is the easiest and that most in accord with Christian Charity. As the weapons of the Spirit are far mightier than carnal weapons, so is this method of conversion far mightier than all others. As my book is finished on the Vigil of John the Baptist, who was the herald of the light, and with his finger pointed to Him who is the True Light, so may it please our Lord Jesus Christ to kindle a new light of the world which may guide unbelievers to their conversion, that they, with us, may go forth to meet the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise, world without end." [8]

"Every wise man must acknowledge *that* to be the true religion, which ascribed the greatest perfection to the Supreme Being, and not only conveyed the worthiest conception of all His attributes, His goodness, power, wisdom, and glory, but demonstrated the harmony and equality existing between them. Now *their* religion was defective in acknowledging only two active principles in the Deity, His will and His wisdom, while it left His goodness and greatness inoperative as though they were indolent qualities and not called forth into active exercise. But the Christian faith could not be charged with this defect. In its doctrine of the Trinity it conveys the highest conception of the Deity, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in one simple essence and nature. In the Incarnation of the Son it evinces the harmony that exists between God's goodness and His greatness; and in the person of Christ displays the true union of the Creator and the creature; while in His Passion which He underwent out of His great love for man, it sets forth the divine harmony of infinite goodness and condescension, even the condescension of Him who for us men, and our salvation, and restitution to our primeval state of perfec-

8 Closing paragraph of *Ars Major* or *Generalis*.

tion, underwent those sufferings and lived and died for man." [9]

"If it were pleasing to Thee that Thy servant should go through the squares and streets and villages and towns proclaiming Thy truth and the falsity of the unjust, and should have no fear of hunger or thirst, nor of death, then would he know himself to be remembered in the pity of his God." [10]

"Oh, long-suffering and pitiful Lord! many a time have I trembled with fear and cold. When will the day and hour come when my body will tremble for the great warmth of love and ardent longing and delight in dying for its Creator and Saviour?" [11]

"I had a wife and children; I was tolerably rich; I led a secular life. All these things I cheerfully resigned for the sake of promoting the common good and diffusing abroad the holy faith. I learned Arabic. I have several times gone abroad to preach the Gospel to the Saracens. I have for the sake of the faith been cast into prison and scourged. *I have labored forty-five years to gain over the shepherds of the church and the princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom.* Now I am old and poor, but still I am intent on the same object. I will persevere in it till death, if the Lord permits it." [12]

"As a hungry man makes despatch and takes large morsels on account of his great hunger, so Thy servant feels a great desire to die that he may glorify Thee. He hurries day and night to complete his work in order that he may give up his blood and his tears to be shed for Thee." [13]

RAYMUND LULL (1235–1315).

9 Maclear's condensation from *Liber Contemplationis in Deo,* liv. 25-28.
10 "Contemplation of God," xxv. 30.
11 *Ibid.*
12 Zwemer's "Raymund Lull," p. 64.
13 "*Liber Contemplationis in Deo.*"

EVANGELISM THROUGH SCHOOLS IN THE NEAR EAST

[A paper read at the last meeting of "The Near East Christian Council" and sent for publication in our Quarterly.—*Editor.*]

The Garden of God has in it flowers of every hue and of endless variety. On the part of the gardeners this demands infinite adaptability, constant thought, wondrous patience. If the same treatment is meted out to all plants alike, some will wither and die; some will produce abundant blossom; many will be dwarfed and stunted. They will bloom, but their color will be poor and their fragrance but faint.

In reading through the interesting mass of correspondence I have had from many parts of the area dealing with this subject of Evangelism through schools, I have been much impressed with the great variety of aim and method, of difficulty and result. Methods which are suitable for, say, a Persian garden, appear to be wholly impossible in the glare of a Turkish sun or the arid desert of Arabia. Soil and circumstance are factors which the gardener must be constantly studying if he expects to produce flowers of fragrance and beauty which will in turn be reproductive and which will permanently beautify the Garden of God.

And the flowers of *our* garden are God's little ones, of whom the Head Gardener has counselled us that we offend them not, and despise them not, for they are the very choicest flowers in the Garden of His Father.

What are the aims of Christian education? From a most interesting sheaf of correspondence I quote a few that are typical:

One writes: "I would say that the aim of our school is ethical and 'cultural' rather than evangelistic, but there

by 'cultural' we would mean that we aim primarily at the development of Christian character. Our interest is not the building up of any particular body in the Christian Church. We have always made it our aim to try to persuade the students to remain in their own religious bodies,—Protestant, Catholic, or even Moslem, but to revitalize them with the living message of Christ. We do make a definite effort to help our pupils to experience for themselves a personal religious life."

Another is "altogether opposed to any attempt to 'convert' boys while still at school," and holds "that it is the function of Mission schools to 'Christianize' and not to proselytize." And one teacher shrinks from attempting to "reap immature sheaves of corn," believing that it is sounder science to concentrate on "the development of good soil in which the seed may grow."

One area has faced difficulties which have called out much fellowship in prayer these past years. They *may* not have any Christian teaching at all for their Moslem students, and feel that their purpose is to show their Moslem friends that they are genuinely interested in working for them without ulterior motive other than friendship.

Some workers in other parts go farther. Their aim is "both ethical and cultural" on the one hand, and they also aim definitely at the conversion to faith in Christ of all pupils, whether these be Jews, Moslems or nominal Christians. They find it impossible to separate the two. Among those who pursue this two-fold purpose, some, while aiming definitely at conversion, do not urge confession of such faith. Those of us who have long worked in Moslem lands can understand that hesitancy even if, as a result of our own experience, we would fain urge a bolder policy where it is possible.

One experienced Girls' School Principal in a Moslem city with its own peculiar difficulties, would go very much farther. She writes:

"After some years of work I am still a real believer in

educational work as an evangelistic agency; and by that I not only mean that it is a means of bringing our girls to accept the ethical teaching of Christ, but rather of trying to help them to know Christ as their Saviour, of putting before them His claims, and of trying to lead them to a full surrender to Him. Indeed I feel this so strongly that I believe I would not stay longer in the work if I felt that I could *only* influence them from a Christian ethical standpoint, and not really strive to win individual lives for Jesus Christ Himself. My own strong feelings in this matter are chiefly due to my certainty that even Christian ethics are of no avail without the power of a Saviour behind, and that I have no right to call girls to the awful struggle of following His teaching without first showing the joy and peace of full surrender to Him."

This Principal goes on to say that she in no wise minimizes the opportunity of leavening the thought of the nation by the teaching of Jesus Christ, nor would she deny that this should be a definite aim in our work; only she would emphasize that it is not enough. We ought to get the truest Christian influence permeating the community when we get complete surrender of the individual to Christ.

The Dean of a college which has recently had a remarkable number of conversions among non-Christian students writes that "the primary purpose" of the college "is to lead men to a knowledge of Jesus Christ, which knowledge, we believe, is the way of salvation for them, and the only way of which we know anything." Therefore, "every reasonable effort consistent with fairness and tolerance is exerted to bring to the attention of the students the salvation which is offered to all men in and through Jesus Christ." The effect of presenting the ethical teaching of Christ with its leavening effect on society is a by-product of its main purpose. Yet, this is considered of such importance, that if the direct evangelistic purpose were for any reason impossible, they would still feel the existence of the college to be justified

if they could carry out such a programme of presenting the ethical teaching of Christ to the students as would mean incorporating this in the life of the nation. But, in the face of serious governmental restrictions, they are still able to carry out the primary purpose, and just at present they are unable to care for the success that they have been experiencing.

I quote the above testimony at some length as an encouragement to those who are carrying on educational work in circumstances of difficulty and external restrictions. The results attained may well inspire others to get in touch with this college, with a view to considering whether for them there may be a possibility of adapting such methods in evangelism.

One principal tells how his school was closed down by the government authorities on the ground that its aims struck a blow at the dignity of education! In that town the government has now brought its own educational work well abreast of the mission school. It has introduced college-trained teachers and has established a good reputation. The mission school recognizes that educationally "it must keep on top or quit." But they still hold to evangelism as their primary aim. At the same time they see that if they are to succeed in maintaining their right to existence they must give such an unalloyed contribution to the general educational work of the country as shall command for them the respect and cooperation of official and public opinion, and so also get a more sympathetic ear for their spiritual message. They will not forfeit their primary aim, the Principal says, in order to gain educational prestige, but neither will they forfeit educational efficiency for the sake of making the school an evangelistic centre.

This well illustrates the way in which mission schools are being compelled to make an effective contribution to the educational and cultural life of the Moslem nations striving for world recognition if they would maintain their existence at all as mission schools.

The Principal of a Girls' School tells that until recently the pupils were preponderatingly members of the ancient Eastern Churches. It was then easy to maintain unequivocally that their aim was to bring their girls to a knowledge of Christ and a fuller fellowship with Him. And they had good results. Today the aim is still the same, but they have an increasing number of Moslem girls and are also faced with governmental restrictions as to Christian teaching to Moslems, together with more stringent demands as to educational standard, and she has to confess that the aim is not being attained with just the same success as formerly. But they "plough in hope," and feel justified in going on with comparatively more emphasis on the secondary aim, viz., so getting the ethical teaching of Jesus Christ across to their pupils that the bonds of fear and superstition are broken, and they hope eventually to be able to get the evangelistic message once more into the forefront of their purpose.

Of necessity in describing the Aims, I have at times been led over into Results in recording some success or failure in reaching the aim. I have little use for mere statistics, and realize how misleading these may be even in the hand of honest folk like missionaries! Bernard Lucas once said that it was doubtless very interesting for David to number the children of Israel, but it proved disastrous for the nation! How often we have found, too, that after telling in a missionary magazine the story of some striking conversion, the Devil seemed to get to work at once to make havoc of the convert!

Still, let us give glory to God. The Principal of a school for Jews in a Moslem land says that though his school is well-known as a Christian institution, and there are very efficient Jewish schools in the town, they have just under five hundred pupils and are unable, for lack of accommodation, to receive any more pupils. Parents are fully aware of the Christian teaching given in all classes, and year by year the Church roll records the number of those who, after public confession and due proba-

tion, have been admitted to the Church by Holy Baptism. Another principal in a Jewish school says "The Jewish field of service is a very promising one. During my seven years of service we have had many out and out conversions."

In one of the colleges referred to earlier, something over forty Moslem students recently either made a definite confession of faith in Christ or signified their desire to be further instructed in His teaching. This followed a parochial "mission" conducted on lines similar to those we have in America or England. In the same town about thirty Jews also signed cards to the same effect. The Dean of the college says that at present the chief limitation he has in this work of evangelism is lack of time and strength. From another school in the area the Principal gives similar testimony. In this college it has ceased to be a matter of comment when a student becomes a Christian. Another of the professors in the same college writing of the results of the mission that was held, says "it may encourage workers (in other areas) to go forward with direct evangelism. For it is to this that we are surely called. It ought also to warn us all never to be content with an ethical and cultural influencing of the nation. For, if we get that aim firmly fixed on our consciousness, we are in danger of never hitting the other target. We, too, have had our barren years when we sowed in tears and hope, and sometimes hardly in hope. Today we are reaping—not perhaps a harvest as in parts of Africa and India, but good grain for all that."

In another place the Principal tells of the leavening influence of the school. Graduates have adopted the highest ethical and moral standards of living and hold important posts in government and foreign offices. Some have accepted Christ as Saviour and some homes of surpassing beauty have been started through the influence of the schools for boys and girls.

The Principal of the Girls' School quoted above as feeling so strongly the evangelistic aim and impulse, says

that she can only record two girls as having been baptized in the past three years,—but that two others have asked for baptism (one of these has since been baptized) and three pupil teachers have definitely decided for Christ. They witness in school and have confessed Christ at home, but so far, have not faced up to the surrender involved in public baptism.

A careful consideration of the correspondence received goes to show that in most cases you eventually hit the target at which you aim. Those who preach a positive Christian message and aim at conversion, do as a rule, seem to get conversions. There are extremely few schools which aim at conversion and have none to report. Some have waited long and patiently. Some are still waiting. Some have them rarely. A few have recently had more than their staff can adequately care for.

Similarly, those who aim primarily at "cultural" results are getting them. Some honestly do not think that conversion is a justifiable aim in school work, and naturally conversions are more "accidental" than of purpose. One school, typical of this class, reports that they know of no case in recent years where a non-Christian student made a profession of faith in Christ, but they know of many who would admit that the influence of Jesus Christ has changed their lives.

One interesting feature in several places is the *experimental work* of Christian converts. They conduct branches of the Scripture Union, or help in Christian Endeavor Societies. Some are evangelists employed by Churches or Missions, others are colporteurs of the Bible Society. Jewish converts to Christianity are seeking to win Moslems to Christ. Christian students are engaging in various forms of Social Service for non-Christians. In one school the girls had winter parties for poor Moslem girls, and at Christmas gave them food and clothing, dolls, etc. This was made the occasion of a charge by the local education authority that they had invited outsiders for the purpose of anti-Islamic conversions! In some

places the Y. M. C. A. is proving a useful organization, Christian clubs in others. Girls organize games, etc., for young carpet weavers. In one college the Christian Union members visit some other town during the Easter holidays and by very open and direct evangelism, largely by personal and individual work, they seek to win non-Christians for the Lord Jesus Christ. The Summer School Camps are proving a valuable outlet for the evangelistic zeal of young converts, and a source of gaining fresh converts to Christ.

A most important feature referred to in all too few letters received is that of bringing the educational work into close relation with Church development, so that each helps the other. One school reports that the school shares with the Church the responsibility of making Christ known to the community around. But the whole matter deserves most serious consideration on the part of all schools and Church bodies. There is something really wrong if the Christian life of a school or college is not also a vital part of the Church life. Both suffer. We are members one of another. If the religious life and worship of a college are confined to the college and are not an integral part of the Church life of the place, on the one hand, the Church is losing the inspiration of those young ardent Christians who can do so much to attract other young people to the Church, and whose zeal can inspire the older members; and on the other hand, there is a danger of the Christian students developing something of a "class consciousness" and so there is a risk of something approaching "caste" getting into the Church. Moreover, it is to the college students that the Church has to look for the supply of its ministry, and it is difficult to see how Christian students are ever to feel the call to the work of the Church if they are separated from the active life of the Church during the formative period of college days when their future vocation is almost bound to be thought about and decided.

As regards methods, the value of *Hostels* is empha-

sized by several as almost the most effective single means for gaining that personal contact with students which is essential in school evangelism. There are opportunities for voluntary prayers, Sunday services, and unrestricted personal work, all of which are much more difficult to get where there is no hostel. In the absence of a hostel, one Principal writes that her house, adjoining the school, has become a sort of second home for her pupils. This gives her opportunities for talks with the girls, without the danger of being interrupted. Also walks with the girls are useful and classes for enquirers.

Those who know something of the "Oxford Groups" will understand the value of "Fellowship Meetings," both those for members of the staff, and those where members of the staff and Christian students meet together in this way. The Principal of one college where this method is carried out says he feels that the Fellowship has been the most important means of producing the spiritual results they have experienced in the college. The Christian life of the students has been deepened, the active Christian witness of the college is full of life, and a spirit of harmony prevails. If this sort of witness is to be effective it is essential that the Christian staff be sufficient to allow for plenty of time outside class for personal work. If the Christian staff are working all the time at full pressure on the purely educational side, the definitely missionary work inevitably suffers. One college reports that it has appointed one man on the staff solely for religious work among the students, thus putting the religious work of the college on at least an equal footing with other departments. In addition there is, of course, the part-time cooperation of the other Christian members of the staff. The total impact of this is felt to be considerable and the department of religious education is said to be the livest in the college. The course includes Character Studies in the Bible, the Life of Jesus Christ, Christian Philosophy, Christian Sociology, etc. The method of approach is that of the student's need and

our possession of religious values that may be serviceable to him, rather than any propagandist approach.

Where governmental restrictions forbid the teaching of the Bible in the class room, the Ethics classes and Personal influence have to be made the most of. Some find these inadequate, others find that the value of these courses as a foundation has been proved, when, after due preparation a mission was held. The success of at least two such missions, one in a very unlikely place, should provoke to thought and action all educationists who are out for soul winning. Reading rooms outside college premises are also proving useful. Naturally, where Ethics classes are all that may be permitted in school, it is absolutely essential that the staff be preponderatingly Christian, and that they pay great attention to their own lives.

Denationalizing is a charge that is easy to hurl against schools under foreign control, and one that is not altogether easy to rebut. We do belong to another nation, though we try to keep all undue foreign influence altogether out of our work. In the area which we represent, with its growing and intense national spirit, we must be on our guard all the time against anything that might be charged against us as anti-national.

In a Boys' College, several students came to a decision for Christ and immediately found themselves up against serious family opposition. The funds for continuing their education would not be forthcoming. In one case, where an elder brother supported both the widowed mother and the student, he threatened to cease supporting the mother unless the younger brother gave up all attendance at Christian meetings and all practice of his Christianity. Organized opposition on the part of government officials and religious leaders can also become serious where a boy's future career depends on his school success.

Follow-up work is one that clearly calls for consideration. It is easy to make this statement, but unless the Christian staff of the school can be increased so that the

school does its own follow-up work, or what is probably much better, that there should be such close interrelation between the evangelistic workers and the school that these can do this work, there is sure to be constant leakage.

So we look over this plot of the Children's Garden which the Great Gardener has committed to our care. We confess our failure in many things, but what does stand out prominently in all the correspondence is, that in every place the gardeners have a high ideal of their task, and a fine sense of responsibility in this important bit of work. And the spirit of prayer breathes through the whole. The sowing is going on, and it is being done in faith and hope, tended and watered with patience and prayer. There are flowers of rare beauty springing up even in desert soil. And surely the Great Gardener Himself loves to come down in the cool of the day, to behold the fair beauty of His garden and encourage us as we work and pray.

Isfahan, Persia. JAMES H. LINTON,
Bishop of Persia.

MOHAMMED'S EVANGEL

This may seem a strange topic. Christians are so much impressed with the mechanical and unspiritual character of much of the worship of Islam, and the story of the sword in the propagation of this religion so overshadows the rest, that no suggestion of any gospel attaches to it. Had Mohammed any gospel?

It will not require long inquiry to convince us that he had. To be sure, he does not call it a gospel. This word (*injil*) is restricted in the Koran to the message of Jesus. It is a foreign word, a transfer of the εὐαγγέλιον into Arabic, and possesses no more meaning to the Arab than any other proper noun. But Mohammed does call his message "good news" (*bushray*), the fundamental meaning in English of both the Greek and the Saxon "gospel." "This (Koran) is a book . . . in the Arabic tongue, that those who are guilty (of disdaining it) may be warned, and as *good news* to the doers of good." And the context shows that it is delivery from fear and the punishment of sin, and assurance of the rewards of Paradise that are meant (xlvi: 9-13). We are thus to recognize that Mohammed had in his own mind the conception of a gospel, even if he restricted the term Gospel to Jesus' message. In fact, besides this fundamental meaning of "good news" common to both revelations, Mohammed describes both the Gospel and his own message in the same terms as guidance, light, warning, and so forth (v: 50–52). But of course the Koran was extolled as superior to the Gospel (iii: 2).

Had Mohammed, however, really any "good news," any "gospel" to communicate? He most certainly had. Who can question it when he reflects upon Mohammed's

fundamental doctrines, monotheism, the sin of man, the possibility and certainty of the divine forgiveness, the assurance of guidance in the path (i: 5) which the believer is to pursue, and Heaven at last; and when he envisages the heathen idolatry, the gross superstitions, the hopelessness of the Arabia in which Mohammed was born. He wrought a great deliverance for his people. Every student of the history of Islam, and every missionary, knows that there have been Moslems who were truly pious men. Some, like Ghazali, have been great saints. The religion that can produce such, is certainly "good news," however defective it may be at a thousand points, for, "in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him."

How, now, did Mohammed proclaim this "good news"? What were the methods he employed and the truths which he set forth and the reasons which he presented and the motives which he urged?

His appeal to *fear* is too notorious to need more than a mention. Terrific are his descriptions of Hell, and constant the refrain—"to the unbeliever sore punishment" (ii: 6, 9, and so forth). In this respect he agrees with the great Christian preachers of all ages. But side by side with this was the presentation of the joys of Heaven. The argument from the repellent was strengthened and perfected by the presentation of the attractive. It is at this point that Christian objection to Mohammed's preaching and marked disgust at it, have been most emphatic and outspoken. In the Christian Heaven there are no "Houris," for they "neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels." A partial excuse may be made for Mohammed if we remember the simple principle that to attract men to anything you must say that about it by which they will be attracted. Mohammed viewed sex as eternal (lv: 56; lvi: 35).[1] But he struggles at this point, as at others, to avoid grossness, saying that

1 Rodwell translates "*abkāran*" *ever* virgins. This is interpretation rather than translation, and has no justification in the Arabic, besides being contrary to the implications of lv: 56.

there shall be no "vain discourse" in Heaven, but only the cry, "Peace, peace." And his "wine" in Heaven does not intoxicate. It may, perhaps, slightly modify the Christian criticism of Mohammed's Heaven if we recall the fact that the New Testament speaks of a "marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. xix: 9. Cf. Matt. xxvi: 29).

But in less objectionable ways Mohammed emphasizes in other passages the *goodness* of God, and thus appeals to man's gratitude.

From the numerous passages bearing this argument we may select Surah xvi, verses 3–25. The whole Surah is an interwoven appeal to both gratitude and fear; but in these verses he mentions the creation of the heavens and earth, of man, of cattle that provide garments and food and carry burdens and thus make long journeys possible, of horses, mules and asses for riding and for ornament, and adds that there are many other things created, still unknown to men (v. 8). It is God that sends the rain which gives drink to man, and causes corn and olives and palm-trees and grapes and all kinds of fruit to spring up. He has subjected night and day to man, and the sun, moon and stars. The beautiful colors that adorn the earth are from Him. He subjected the sea to man, that man might eat of its fish, and bring up pearls from its depths, and sail his ships upon it. He created the mountains and the rivers and provided paths thereby for man's guidance. And after this long catalogue, Mohammed bursts out with the exclamation: "And if ye would number the mercies of God, ye could not count them. God is forgiving, compassionate."

Now, of course, with his defective idea of God, Mohammed is not wholly consistent in these passages. It can never be said that he rises to the height of the New, or even the Old Testament, and teaches the all-embracing and real love of God for men. But where is he consistent? Consistency is not a virtue of the Semitic mind. The inconsistency of such passages with others, does not prevent them from having an effective application in Mo-

hammed's teaching. Men know that no such statements as these can be made of the gods of unbelievers. Instead of creating, they are themselves created! Men are not in their pride to refuse to yield to the goodness of God and go on "sinning against their own souls" (v. 30).

With this argument from God's goodness as seen in the provisions made for man's welfare in the creation, is intimately associated that from his greatness. It is from this angle that the creation is presented in Surah xli: 8–11. God created the earth in two days. He set the mountains in their places. When the heaven "was but smoke, He said to it and to the earth, 'Come ye, whether in obedience or against your will,' and they both said, 'We come obedient' " (v. 10). When He will create, He has but to say, "Be," and it is (ii: 111). Nothing is more frequent in the course of Mohammed's arguments than the refrain, "God is all-powerful." It was a very impressive argument to the Bedouins, who in the solitude of the desert and in their own complete powerlessness before the awful heat, the fierce storms, the frequent failure of food and water, and the apparent capriciousness of it all, were more conscious of God's power than of any other of his attributes.

These arguments came to a culmination and final impressiveness in the constant emphasis laid upon monotheism. "There is no god but God." "To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth. All obey Him, the creator of the heavens in all their marvel" (ii: 110). In view of this there was nothing to do but to submit oneself absolutely to Him.

This submission was, of course, the very center and vital spot of Islam: the word Islam means *the act of surrender,* and a Muslim is a self-surrendered man (*muslīmun*). Now this surrender must be made openly, and was thus in one respect a formal and verbal profession. But the mere words did not make the entire surrender. In Surah xlix: 14, 15 certain Bedouins are referred to who had professed Islam, but "faith had not entered into their

hearts;" and what true faith would produce is defined as engaging in the defense of the Way of God (cf. Acts ix: 2) "with their substance and in person." This certainly equals the demand of Matt. x: 39 and parallels, that a man should be ready to lose his life for Christ's sake. According to xxix: 1 ff., it is not enough to say, "We believe," but men must stand the test of their works. And these works are not mere outward things, such as the saying of formal prayers or turning in prayer towards the east or west (ii: 172 ff.), but besides "believing in God and the last day and the angels and the scriptures and the prophets" the true Moslem must give liberally to those in need (the wayfarer, the beggar) and for ransoming captives, and be faithful to engagements, and patient, just and forgiving (xlii: 38). Christianity can demand little more!

But that "little" is, after all, the vital thing. Mohammed takes every means to call forth a genuine surrender to God. But what is this God, to whom the surrender is made? Not the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Not a God of love, or a God on whose steady justice, informed with kindness, the believer may trust. For the God of Islam is capricious, just as the Bedouin Sheikh is. Higher than this Mohammed does not rise.

Among Mohammed's other arguments for submission to God is his discussion of idols. One reason which he gives for forsaking these is their nothingness. He does not rise to the height of Isaiah's sarcastic story of the man who took the fir tree, burned part of it, roasted flesh, and warmed himself, and of the residue made a God and worshipped it; or to that of Elijah's mockery of the frantic priests of Baal, crying to their unheeding god; but he does say that men made the idols (vii: 134), and he terms them "deaf, dumb, and blind" (ii: 166).[2] He tells also

2 This difficult passage I prefer to translate with Sale, against both Rodwell and Palmer,—"one who doth not hear, not even a call and a cry." *'Illā* is thus taken as redundant. See Lane Dictionary, sub v., p. 78. The principal difficulty with this rendering is to explain *ya'qiluna*. But with the other rendering, as explained by Palmer, the idols are represented as hearing *something*, which destroys Mohammed's whole purpose by giving them a degree of reality.

the story of Abraham, who said of stars, moon and sun, "I love not gods which *set*" (vi: 76).

But the principal reason against idols is their utter impotence. They can neither help nor hurt. He appeals repeatedly to history. The peoples who worshiped idols in former generations are all perished. Their gods could not help them, but God destroyed them (xxx: 41). So it was with the people of Noah. They would not hear him, but their leaders succeeded in holding them to the worship of their gods—and they were drowned! They found no helper when they had forsaken God (lxxi: 20 ff.). Sometimes there is a challenge, "Bring on your proofs that your gods exist" (xxi: 4), which was met by silence only.

There is, however, one lofty argument which he brings against false gods, which must have been with many a hearer the decisive argument. It is the challenging question, "Is there any of the gods ye add to God who guideth into the *truth?*" (x: 36). The time before Mohammed was the time of "the ignorance" (*jahiliya,* v. 55, etc.) and indeed the amount of knowledge of sacred things which the Arab had was most limited. And now, here was a prophet giving utterance to an amount of truth astonishing in extent, and embracing teaching both as to God and as to the details of daily living such as these poor Arabs had never heard before. The Koran, which claimed to be the direct message from God, was enlarging every day, and the more it grew the greater was the marvel of its doctrines and the pungency of its appeals. Mohammed expressed his own consciousness of this when he threw down the glove to his opponents, saying, "Bring a *surah* like it!" He knew they could not, and they did not. There was nothing that idolators knew that could equal the teaching of the Koran. Nor was he objectively wrong in this feeling about it. When we consider the condition of Arabia in his day, its grovelling superstitions, its unchecked licentiousness, and its general deprivation of anything that could be called a worthy religion, and re-

flect that there were other Arabs besides Mohammed who must have known of all this and something, at least, of the religions of Jews and Christians of whom Mohammed learned so much, it is a marvel that Mohammed should have listened with other ears than theirs, should have pondered these things in his heart, and finally propounded so great and true a message as he did, and urged and defended it at the risk of his life. We must also, in our present view of the religious development of mankind, as we refer the development of such a religion as the *bhakti*-religion of India [3] to the operation of the divine Spirit, so refer Mohammedanism to the same operation, to that of a Spirit who worketh when and where and how he will.

Mohammed seems to have perceived at times that his preaching of Hell might cast more timid souls, and those who were conscious of great sins, into despair. Hence there sounds through all his preaching a tone of encouragement. "Those who turn to me (God) and act uprightly, and make known (the truth), even to them will I turn, for I am He who Turneth, the Merciful" (ii: 155). We are not to forget the superscription of every Surah save one, "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God." He also promises them deliverance from fear (ii: 36, the refrain of this Surah). They shall also know the truth. In fact, it is because *knowledge* came to them that they became Moslems (iii: 2). Knowledge comes only from God (ii: 30) and they that meditate on God (vii: 2 & 3, etc.) shall increase in this knowledge. To this point we must recur later.

They shall also have "guidance" in practical matters of daily conduct (xix: 78), as in their first coming to Islam (ix: 52), and shall be brought finally to Heaven (ii: 4; xxxi: 4). Thus emphasis is laid upon the leading idea of the Koran that all good comes from God (xvi: 9), as does all evil also. "Guidance" is one of the Koran's great words, and Mohammed kept it constantly before

3 Cf. Otto, "The Religion of Grace in India," 1930.

the minds of his followers by incorporating in the Fatiha, to be repeated many times a day by the devout Moslem, the petition, "Guide thou us in the right path!" (i: 5).

We have now followed the methods of Mohammed's preaching enough, I think, to be able to say that he presented many of the great arguments which have always been used by the Christian evangelist in seeking to induce sinners to turn to God. He argues from the greatness of God as the Creator, and First Cause of all things, from His justice which will inflict terrible punishment on the wicked, and from His goodness, for which men owe Him a debt of gratitude and service. He presses the impotence and nothingness of false gods. And he stirs the desire for higher things by many a hint of progress in knowledge and piety. The defects of his teaching are apparent to every Christian thinker. He did not rise to the Christian ideals of knowledge and growth, the main reason for which was his defective idea of God himself. But there was enough in his preaching to enable the Christian missionary to appeal to him, to start upon his level, to urge the great arguments as things already acknowledged by every believer in the Koran, to quote the Koran itself for many of his positions, and then go on to add the higher and clearer views of God and of the life that is "hid with Christ in God." To do this will be to follow the conciliatory path which writers on homiletics so warmly commend, which will avoid unnecessary antagonisms and lead to a less prejudiced reception of the better things the Christian gospel has to present.

A few supplementary remarks may be added on Mohammed's scheme for the propagation of Islam.

If the question were asked, to what kind of a future did Mohammed look for Islam, and what methods of propagating his religion did he anticipate, the reply of most of the older scholars in Islam would probably be, The conversion of the world and that by force. That may be the true answer. That method was the immemorial method of the desert, where war was constant.

Such was the national condition of a people made up of independent groups, each ruled by a Sheikh. Mohammed had become a Sheikh by force of circumstances, and he was compelled to adopt the methods of a Sheikh. And his utterances in the later Surahs are sanguinary enough to justify the worst construction that may be put on his numerous acts of violence. But in what may be taken for his last formulation of the relation between Christianity and Islam (ix: 29 ff.) tribute is mentioned as an alternative to war. Aggressive war is forbidden (how modern that sounds!) in ii: 186. In fact, something of an argument could be brought up in favor of the idea that Mohammed was at heart a pacifist! And while the Arabs extended their empire over a large portion of the earth by force, it was not so much war for religion waged by fanatics that we have to recognize as war for outlets for the superfluous population of Arabia, for an opportunity to get a living, for a "place in the sun." [4]

Two more things are to be noted. The first is that Mohammed established no hierarchy and sent out no missionaries in the Christian sense of that word. He seems to have been greatly repelled by monks and priests. Any Moslem who possessed a gift for preaching could preach, and may today. And the other thing is that every Moslem was expected to propagate his religion as he might find opportunity of converse with receptive minds. And Islam, like early Christianity, has been principally extended by the zeal of individual Moslems recommending their religion.

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[4] Cf. Becker, "Islam Studien," p. 66 ff., 332 ff.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF SPIRIT IN ISLAM [1]

I.

Rūḥ in Arabic is a primary noun which has become broadly equivalent in meaning to Latin *spiritus,* " breath," " wind," " spirit "; at one end of its meanings it goes back into the most primitive folk-lore and at the other, just as in the case of " spirit " with us, the whole history of philosophy could be built up round its uses and implications; in the course of its journey between these extremes it takes in all theology from metaphysics to so-called superstitions. To separate and clarify the tangle of meanings and uses which it originally possessed it assumed different forms (as *nafas,* was differentiated from *nafs*) and *rawḥ* and *rīḥ* came into existence; *rawḥ* with the ideas of wide space, comfort, rest, and *rīḥ* first specifically " wind " (pls. *riyāḥ, 'arwāḥ, 'aryāḥ*) and then with the metaphorical applications of evening, rest, comfort, pleasant odour, changing fortune. But it was, apparently, recognized by the lexicographers (Ṣiḥāḥ, s. v., nearly two pages; Lisān, iii, pp. 281–295; Mufradāt of al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Cairo 1324, p. 205) that *rūḥ* was original and could stand for any of these. For details on this see below. Also that the verbs, whether middle *wāw* or *yā,* were denominative from the nouns *rūḥ* and *rīḥ* with the senses " rest," " wind," " odour." Thus the Ṣiḥāḥ and the Mufradāt begin their articles with the noun *rūḥ* and have no root middle *yā* while the Lisān begins its article middle *wāw* with the word *rīḥ* and under the root middle *yā* (p. 295) has only a treatment of *'aryaḥ* with its specific consonantal *yā* and ends that treatment with *Allāhu 'a'lam.* In Hebrew (Brown-Driver-Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, pp. 924b–926b) the development and usage were closely parallel; *rūªḥ* retained the meaning " wind " as well as " spirit " and *rēªḥ* was limited to " odour." In Hebrew, also, the verbs seem to have been denominative. In what here follows the consideration is strictly of *rūḥ,* but it is taken in the widest sense. The relative adjective is *rūḥānī,* " spiritual " in a very wide sense, and *rawḥānī* has come into existence with *rawḥ.* For the lexicographical differences between *rūḥ* and *nafs,* on which there will be much hereafter, see generally in Lane under *nafs,* pp. 2827 f. For *rūḥ* alone the treatment in the Lisān is more important. There is a short but good statement on *nafs* in Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. ii, 8, ed. Fleischer, i, p. 23, ll. 22–25.

1 Reprinted by permission of author and publisher from *Acta Orientalia,* Vol. IX., 1931. This is the first Part; the second will appear in the April number.

The usages in the Ḳur'ān are curiously separate from those immediately post-Ḳur'ānic, as in the traditions. *Rūḥ* never occurs in the Ḳur'ān with the meaning "soul," although later theologians applied Ḳur'ānic occurrences in that sense. The Ḳur'ānic word for "soul" is *nafs,* pl. *'anfus.* Further, no plural of *rūḥ* occurs in the Ḳur'ān. It is used of an individual angel, evidently with a special implication; but the plural for "angel" is always *malā'ika.* In fact the evidence is that *rūḥ,* in the theological sense "spirit," came into Arabic with Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān, and came as a singular expressing a certain theological group of ideas. That is, the roots r-u-ḥ, r-y-ḥ already existed in Arabic, but only for the ideas, wind, rest, odour; the verbs do not express any other ideas (see Lane and the Lexica generally); *rūḥ* in genuine old Arabic verse does not seem even to be used of such a "spirit" as a djinnī; it meant "breath" and *'arwāḥ* meant "winds." Some of the angels, in later theological language, were called *rūḥānī* and were a higher class than those created of light (Lisān, iii, p. 290, l. 4 from below). But this evidently is a later distinction, when the meaning "spiritual" was well established.

Rūḥ, in Ḳur'ānic usage, may be classified as follows: I. In Ḳur. xv, 29; xxxii, 8; xxxviii, 72 Allāh blew (*nafaḳha*) into Adam some of his (Allāh's) *rūḥ* (*min rūḥihi*). This is evidently dependent on Genesis ii, 7, "and blew into his nostrils wind of life" (*nišmath ḥaiyīm*). In Ibn Ḳutaiba's Ma'ārif (p. 7, l. 3) this is rendered *wanafaḳha fī wadjhihi nasamata-l-ḥayāt;* but in the version which came to Muḥammad, oral or written, it may easily have been *al-rūḥ,* for *rūḥ* in older Arabic was used of the breath; the Lisān (iii, p. 286, l. 13) quotes from Dhū-l-rumma blowing a fire with the *rūḥ* and (p. 291, l. 6) from Abū-l-Duḳaiš of a man filling a *ḳirba "min rūḥihi,* that is *min rīḥihi wa-nafasihi"*—all this to show that *rūḥ* and *rīḥ* are really the same, like *tīh* and *tūh.* But later theologians made much of this as showing that there was in man something of divinity, the differentia between him and the rest of creation, or, as Baiḍāwī (on Ḳur. xxxii, 8; Fleischer's ed. ii, p. 118, l. 22) cautiously puts it, that man is "a wonderful creation and that there is something in him which has some kind of relationship (*munāsaba*) to the Divine Presence (*al-ḥaḍra al-rubūbīya*)." Baiḍāwī died 685/1286; this phrase and others suggest influence from Ibn al-'Arabī who died 638/1240. See more on this below. II. Evidently connected with this are Ḳur. xxi, 91; lxvi, 12. Allāh blew into Maryam at the conception of 'Īsā some of his *rūḥ* (*min rūḥinā*) which Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed. i, p. 623, l. 17) paraphrases as "some of the *rūḥ* which is by our command alone," *bi-'amrina waḥdahu;* cf. usage VIII below. Also on this and other associations below of *Rūḥ* with Jesus cf. article 'Īsā in Encyclopedia of Islam. III. Ḳur. xix, 17, "then we sent to her (Maryam) our spirit (*rūḥanā*)." Ac-

ceptedly *rūḥ* here means Djibrīl, the angel of revelation; cf. VI and VII below; but strictly the Ḳur'ān says only that this was a messenger (*rasūl*) and a personality. IV. Ḳur. iv, 169; lviii, 22, "a *rūḥ* from him (*Allāh*)." In the first occurrence it is a description of 'Īsā, and Baiḍāwī explains that it means the possessor of a spirit which proceeded (*ṣadar*) from Allāh by no intermediation (*tawassuṭ*) acting as source (*'aṣl*) and having material (*mādda*). In the second occurrence Allāh aids believers with it and Baiḍāwī explains that it is a light in the mind (*nūr al-ḳalb*), or the Ḳur'ān, or victory over enemies. V. Three mysterious and practically identical passages referring to "the angels and the *rūḥ*" (Ḳur. lxx, 4; lxxviii, 38; xcvii, 4) in such a way as to imply that the *rūḥ* is a personality apart from the angels. Thus the angels and the *rūḥ* ascend to Allāh; the *rūḥ* and the angels stand silent in rows in the presence of Allāh; the angels and the *rūḥ* descend on the Night of Ḳadr, concerning every *'amr*. For various conjectures as to the meaning of the *rūḥ* in these passages see article Malā'ika in the Encyclopedia of Islam (vol. iii, p. 190a). But it is to be noted that one of these conjectural interpretations came in the sequel to be of overwhelming importance for the mystical theology. The oldest exegetical tradition (e. g. in Ṭabarī's Tafsīr, vol. xxix, pp. 38ff.) does not seem to have been troubled by the matter, but later exegetes (e. g. Baiḍāwī, Fleischer's ed. ii, p. 356, l. 5; p. 383, l. 4) give as one interpretation "a creation (*ḵhalḳ*) mightier than the angels." This led to various *logos* phases of doctrine, on which more below. VI. In Ḳur. xxvi, 163 "the trustworthy spirit (*al-rūḥ al-'amīn*)" descends with the Ḳur'ān on the *ḳalb* of Muḥammad. As in III above, this Spirit is Djibrīl who (Baiḍ. Fleischer's ed. ii, p. 60, l. 4) is "the trusted of Allāh (*'amīn Allāh*) as to revelation (*waḥy*)." The *ḳalb* of Muḥammad here, according to Baiḍāwī, is either his *rūḥ* or his physical heart and of the second explanation Baiḍāwī gives a specifying statement (*taḵhṣīṣ*) that "spiritual ideas" (*ma'ānī rūḥānīya*) descend first to the *rūḥ;* thence are transferred to the (physical) heart because of the connection between these two; then ascend from it to the brain and are inscribed (*fa-yantaḳiṣhu*) in it on the tablet (*lawḥ*) of "the imaginative power" (*al-ḳūwa al-mutaḵhaiyila*). On the connection between the *rūḥ* and the *ḳalb* see the present writer's "Religious Attitude and Life in Islam," pp. 224ff. and on this physico-psychological scheme see article *"Wahm in Arabic and its cognates"* in JRAS, Oct. 1922, pp. 512ff. Similarly when Ibn Ḵhaldūn (d. 808/1406) seeks a basis for the nature and interpretation (*ta'bīr*) of the veridical dream (*al-rū'yā;* Muḳaddima, ed. Quatremère iii, pp. 80 ff.) he finds it in the double nature of the human *rūḥ* which he distinguishes into the *rūḥ al-ḳalbī,* the physical side of the human spirit which is an intermediary between the body and the spiritual world, and *al-rūḥ al-'āḳil,* the intellectual side, which perceives every-

thing in the "world of command," *'ālam al-'amr.* The first *rūḥ* is the "bearer" (*maṭīya*) of the second. VII. Another phrase, *rūḥ al-ḳudus,* is applied to this same Angel of Revelation in Ḳur. ii, 81, 254; v, 109; xvi, 104. The first three passages are uniform: Allāh aided (*'aiyada*) Jesus with the *Rūḥ al-ḳudus,* the Holy Spirit. Baiḍāwī on ii, 81 (Fleischer's ed. i, p. 71, l. 23) explains as *al-rūḥ al-muḳaddasa,* "the spirit to be kept free from any imperfection"; *muḳaddas* = *munazzah* in the usage of Ibn al-'Arabī. This spirit, he says, is either (i) Djibrīl or (ii) the *rūḥ* of 'Īsā, so called because of his purity in different ways (cf. article 'Īsā in the Encyclopedia of Islam), or (iii) the *Indjīl,* or (iv) the Most Great Name of Allāh by which 'Īsā raised the dead. On Ḳur. v, 109 Baiḍāwī puts the matter a little differently (Fleischer's ed. i, p. 279, l. 9). This *rūḥ* is either Djibrīl or the *kalām* by which the *dīn* or the *nafs* are vivified to eternal life and purified from sins; by this *kalām* he means apparently the teaching of 'Īsā. In Ḳur. xvi, 104 it is used of the revelation of the Ḳur'ān to Muḥammad by Djibrīl. In this usage it is exceedingly difficult, or rather impossible, to reach Muḥammad's own conception. The coincidence between *rūḥ al-ḳudus* and the Christian doctrine of the Holy Ghost cannot be accidental. The Arabic is an exact translation of the normal Syriac expression for the Holy Ghost ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. But Christian Arabic-speakers use generally (Lane, Lexicon, p. 1180 c) the phrase *al-rūḥ al-ḳudus,* in which *ḳudus* may be regarded as grammatically a *badal* to *rūḥ,* and the meaning apparently is "the spirit who is (specifically) holiness." By this, oriental Christians avoid the possibility, certainly in Muḥammad's mind, that the phrase can indicate any sanctified spirit. That is, the Ḳur'ānic phrase was the current Arabic translation of the Syriac which reached Muḥammad; and, later, Arabic-speaking Christians apparently produced a different phrase in order to avoid the implications which Muḥammad had introduced. In Syriac usage there is also another phrase ܡܪܝܡ ܩܕܝܫܐ (cf. Baiḍāwī's *muḳaddasa* above) which means both "a sanctified spirit" and the Holy Ghost. VIII. In four passages (xvi, 2; xvii, 87; xl, 15; xlii, 52) *rūḥ* is combined with *'amr,* thus greatly increasing the difficulty of interpretation. For *'amr,* besides its two regular meanings of "affair" (*sha'n*) and "commanding" (*infin. of 'amara*), has developed in the Ḳur'ān the meaning "divine command," "creative command" (*'ibdā'*; cf. Mufradāt, p. 23) and thus inclines towards a *mēmrā* or *logos* doctrine. Whether anything of the kind was consciously in Muḥammad's mind may be doubted, although words and phrases may have had an influence upon him, as always. In his mind the will and "command" of Allāh were constantly present and if the word *mēmrā* ever reached him it would have suggested *'amr,* "command" and not the purely Hebrew אמר "say, speak." Logos seems to have come to him in the forms *kalima* and *kalām* (see articles on these in the Encyclopedia of Islam).

It is certain that these texts combining *'amr* and *rūḥ* played a large part in the later theological development, affording welcome points of contact for philosophical and mystical ideas drawn from widely separate sources. But that is a different matter from tracing those implications to the mind of Muḥammad. There is a good statement, with full references, to the whole investigation of the nature and source of the Ḳur'ānic *'amr* on pp. 188 ff. of Horowitz's Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran (Hebrew Union College Annual, vol. 21, pp. 145–227). The four passages are (a) Ḳur. xvi, 2, "He (Allāh) causes the angels to descend with the spirit (*bi-l-rūḥ*) by (*or* on account of) his command (*min 'amrihi*) upon all whom he wills of his creatures (*min 'ibādihi*)." "Spirit" is understood here by Zamakhsharī (ed. Nassau Lees, vol. i, p. 728, l. 7) and by Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed. i, p. 508, l. 10) as inspiration (*waḥy*) or the Ḳur'ān, because by these hearts dead through ignorance (*djahl*) are brought to life or because the "spirit" in religion (*dīn*) is like the "soul" (*rūḥ*) in the body. *Rūḥ*, therefore, is not here a person but a spiritual influence and the word *'amr* seems used to make a play on its use in the previous verse as "the affair of Allāh" which is assuredly coming. Baiḍāwī seems even in doubt whether *min 'amrihī* does not mean, "on account of his affair." (b) Ḳur. xvii, 87, "Say thou (O Muḥammad), 'The spirit is my Lord's affair': or 'proceeds from, belongs to, the affair (*or* the command) of my Lord'" (*ḳul al-rūḥ min 'amri rabbī*). This is the reply which Muḥammad was directed to make to the Jews when they asked him what the *rūḥ* was. The traditions bearing on this question of the Jews are given in short by Baiḍāwī on this passage (Fleischer's ed. i, p. 549, ll. 10 ff.); and in detail in the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (ed. Constantinople 1333, Part viii, pp. 128 ff.); see, also, the attitude of Ibn 'Abbās in Goldziher's Koranauslegung, p. 71 and references there. But see, also, the criticism and practical rejection of these traditions by Ibn Ḳaiyim and by al-Rāzī below. The broad meaning of this verse of the Ḳur'ān has led to a disinclination on the part of the more pious and traditionally minded Muslims to discuss the nature of "spirit." On the exact meaning of the verse there has been wide difference of opinion among those who have discussed it, and it may be said that the whole later theological and philosophical development of the doctrine of "spirit" in Islām goes back to this verse. The explanations have, broadly, been two: (i) that the *rūḥ* is Allāh's affair and no one else's, and that he has kept to himself knowledge as to what it is; (ii) that the *rūḥ* is one of Allāh's immediate creations (*al-'ibdā'īyāt*), either coming into existence by a creative word *kun* or proceeding from the *rūḥ* of Allāh in a unique way different from the creation by *kun*, but not formed out of matter (*mādda*) nor propagated (*tawallad*) from a main-stock (*'aṣl*; cf. Baiḍāwī above on Ḳur. iv, 169); viewed on another side, that it exists

by his command and originates by his bringing into being; it is thus originated and not eternal. This leaves large questions still open to discussion, as to the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Al-Ghazzālī in his Maḍnūn ṣaghīr (ed. Cairo 1303, p. 10) puts it shortly that the *rūḥ* belongs to the world (*'ālam*) of the divine Command (*'amr*); see further below. (c) Ḳur. xl, 15, "He (Allāh) bestows (*yulḳī*) the spirit, from his command (*min 'amrihi*), upon whomsoever he wills of his creatures in order that he may warn of a day of reciprocal meeting" (*yauma-l-talāḳī*). Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed. ii, p. 208, ll. 11 ff.) explains that the verse is to show that spiritualities (*al-rūḥānīyāt*) also are controlled by the *'amr* of Allāh in exhibiting their traces, and that is inspiration (*waḥy*); *al-rūḥ* means inspiration; and the phrase, "from his command" is an added explanation (*bayān*), because it is command of good; or else the *'amr* is the transmitting angel (*al-malak al-muballigh*). Cf. also Zamakhsharī's view that *rūḥ* is a metaphorical expression for inspiration because the "soul" gives life to body (ed. Nassau Lees, ii, p. 1274); it is plain that the commentators felt the subject to be difficult. (d) Ḳur. xlii, 52, "And thus we revealed to thee, [namely] a spirit from our command." What was revealed is called a spirit because the spirit gives life to hearts; or the meaning is "we sent a spirit, that is Djibrīl, to thee with inspiration" (Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii, p. 234, l. 13).

This is all the Ḳur'ānic material on the subject and of these passages the texts under V and VIIIb have, from their suggestive obscurity, exercised by far the greatest influence. As was said above, the Ḳur'ānic word *rūḥ*, always in the singular and never of the human spirit or "soul," has peculiar theological implications. It seems to have come to Muḥammad as a theological *terminus technicus* and he apparently avoided its use in any other sense, e. g., for the djinn or other spirits. Further, it is plain that very early and even in the most orthodox Ḥanbalite circles there had arisen a consciousness of theological mystery. Just as the nature of the Ḳur'ān itself was an orthodoxly accepted mystery into which there should be no prying, so "spirit" had its mystery. Ḳur'ān xvii, 87 (VIIIb above) was mandatory on all pious and traditionally minded Muslims to refrain from considering the nature of spirit and to recognize that there lay in that nature something beyond all human knowledge. Only the Mu'tazilites entirely rejected this. All other Muslims adjusted themselves to it in one way or another. Some stayed by the word of the Ḳur'ān and the traditions on the subject; accepted that it was a mystery and rejected all attempts at interpretation. Others felt driven to different speculations, based either on religious experiences or on philosophical ideas and systems or on both combined. But in all these attempts, whatever their basis, there survived, except amongst the most advanced pantheistic mystics or the most hardened Neoplatonic-Aristotelian philosophers, a feeling that there was danger

of falling into damnable error. Even Ibn al-'Arabī in developing his doctrine of the Perfect Man (see below) reaches a point where he stops his statement because reason can go no further and only the divine unveiling (*kashf*) can know the rest (Fuṣūṣ, ed. Cairo 1309, p. 18). Experiential theologians could not avoid considering the nature of the human heart (*ḳalb*), the human *nafs* and spirit (*rūḥ*) and their relationship with one another and with the divine. Speculative theologians were equally faced with the metaphysical nature and origin of the human soul. But they took refuge in the doctrine common to all Islām of economy in teaching; each individual and each type of mind was to be taught according to its limitations and no further. Thus we find al-Ghazzālī teaching up to a certain point in his Iḥyā, a large treatise intended for the general religious public; a little further in his two Maḍnūn's intended for theological students; still further in his Miṣhkāt for still more advanced students; and in the Miṣhkāt he implies that he has a still more advanced teaching for an inner circle. At the other extreme his Ildjām is a treatise on the necessity of restraining the masses from all theological studies as opposed to authoritative religious teaching. These distinctions were all open and understood and there is a full discussion of the method even in the Iḥyā, Book Ḳawā'id al-'aḳā'id, Faṣl II (ed. with commentary of Saiyid Murtaḍā, vol. ii, pp. 69 ff). The point to be guarded is that the more recondite meaning (*al-bāṭin*) cannot contradict the plain meaning (*al-ẓāhir*). That being understood al-Ghazzālī divides those theological mysteries (*'asrār*) into five classes. The first class is of refined (daḳīḳ) points which the understanding (*fahm*) of most cannot grasp and which would be a dangerous temptation (*fitna*) to them if they tried to grasp them. The first example of this is the mystery of the *rūḥ* which, of course, was "uncovered" (*makshūf*) to the Prophet. "For he who does not know (*'arafa*) the *rūḥ* is as he who does not know his own self (*nafs*) and he who does not know his own self how can he know his Lord?" is the often quoted tradition. To some of the walīs, also, and of the learned (*'ulamā'*) it has been revealed, although they are not prophets. But they follow the *'adab* of the prophets in keeping silence in public on such matters. The movement of thought apparently is that the existence of an entity "spirit" is plain to every man through his experience of his own self, but that knowledge of the nature of "spirit" can be reached only through the greater inspiration (*waḥy*) of prophets or the minor (*'ilhām*) of saints or the religious experience (*ma'rifa*) of certain classes of the learned. Similarly in the first Book of the Iḥyā, that on Knowledge (*'ilm;* ed. with commentary of Saiyid Murtaḍā, vol. i, p. 63) al-Ghazzālī says that the *ḳulūb* belong to the *'ālam al-malakūt* and are therefore veiled off from the external, physical, senses and the commentator adds that the *'ālam al-malakūt* is the *'ālam*

al-ghaib, the spiritual world, to which the *'arwāḥ al-nufūs,* meaning apparently the personal souls of men, specifically belong (*al-mukhtaṣṣ bi-'arwāḥ al-nufūs*). The psychological basis of this economy of teaching is worked out with still greater precision in the Lesser Maḍnūn, otherwise called Al-adjwiba al-ghazzālīya or Al-taswiya wal-nafkh, ed. Cairo 1303, p. 8. To the statement and defence of this economy of teaching al-Ghazzālī recurs again and again. Some teachings may not be put into a book at all because a book may easily fall into unfit hands; so in his Mīzān al-'amal (ed. 1328, p. 214) and even in the Iḥyā (ed. Būlāḳ 1289, iv, p. 294; cf. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p. 80). These are matters between the individual soul and Allāh and can be discussed only with a partaker of the same kind of experience. It is necessary to emphasize this for, otherwise, his warnings, as in the Mishkāt (ed. 1322, p. 55) might suggest—and for some investigators have suggested—a greater theological mystery than lies in them. Compare with this the position taken up in Plato's Epistle vii, 341 A ff., and, also, Sympos. 210E and Republic 494A. On the relationship of *ḳalb, rūḥ, nafs* see the present writer's Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, Lecture viii, and on *malakūt* p. 243. In the Saiyid Murtaḍā's commentary on the Book of the Iḥyā on Love (*maḥabba;* vol. ix, p. 545) he says that the *rūḥ* is the locus (*maḥall*) of the *maḥabba* of Allāh, the *ḳalb* that of experiential knowledge (*ma'rifa*) and the *sirr,* a part of man still more refined (*'alṭaf*) than the *rūḥ,* is that of the contemplation (*mushāhaḍa*) of Allāh. These all regard the knowledge of Allāh from the viewpoint of contemplation as opposed to reason. And so explicitly al-Kharrāz (quoted in Massignon's Passion, p. 483, note 3, and Recueil de Textes inédits, p. 43) lays down that without the *rūḥ* reason (*'aḳl*) would be negated (*mu'aṭṭal*) and possess no proof, for or against. Further, the fervent piety of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal used expressions as to the *rūḥ* which had wide consequences in later Islām among pious Sunnites, extreme Imāmites and monistic mystics of different types. See on this development Massignon, Passion, pp. 661–664. As will be shown below, the later development of mysticism especially by Ibn al-'Arabī forced such later Ḥanbalites as Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Ḳaiyim to an ignoring of this side of Ibn Ḥanbal's teaching.

In ordinary, non-philosophical, orthodox Islām *rūḥ* means simply the soul as opposed to the body (*badan*). So, for example, in Māturīdī's (asserted) *sharḥ* on the *matn* of Abū Ḥanīfa (ed. Hydarabad 1321, p. 31) and in the treatises on the Questioning (*su'āl*) in the grave by Munkar and Nakīr. A common expression for its relation to the body is that it is a *djism laṭīf* with a running (*sarayān*) in the body like the running of water in green wood; so Baidjūrī in his *ḥāshiya* on the *matn* of Abū Shudjā' (ed. Cairo 1307, vol. i, p. 261). The only difference as to corporeality is that the body is "coarse" (*kathīf*) and the soul is

"fine, subtle" (*laṭīf*). According to al-Ghazzālī (Risāla ladunīya, ed. Cairo 1328, p. 9) this is the general position of the Mutakallims, while philosophical theologians deny its corporeality and prefer to call it simply "substance" (djawhar) in the Aristotelian sense. A good statement and study of the position of the corporeal school, which is undoubtedly the fundamental position of orthodox Islām, is to be found in the Kitāb al-rūḥ of Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawzīya, the Ḥanbalite of Damascus who died A. H. 751 (A. D. 1350), nearly two and a half (lunar) centuries after al-Ghazzālī (505/1111) and more than a century after Ibn al-'Arabī who died also in Damascus A. H. 638 (A. D. 1240). Ibn Ḳaiyim (Brock. ii, 105) was a pupil and editor of Ibn Taimīya (Brock. ii, 100–105), the great Ḥanbalite of later times, who centuries after his death, became the spiritual father of the Wahhābite movement. So, too, Ibn Ḳaiyim's book has lasted and at least two editions have appeared at Hydarabad (ii ed. 1324). And its influence has not been simply among Ḥanbalites and Wahhābites. For when there was a great plague (*ṭā'ūn*) at Cairo in 853 a Shāfi'ite, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Biḳā'ī (not in Brockelmann but see Suyūṭī's Naẓm al-'iḳyān, ed. Hitti, New York 1927, p. 24 and references there; I owe this reference to William Popper, University of California) under the influence of the many experiences and testimonies of the dead in this plague (for such are technically "martyrs," *shuhadā'*) wrote an abbreviation with additions under the title Sirr al-rūḥ (printed in Cairo, 1326). For Ibn Ḳaiyim was not a literalist Ḥanbalite. On p. 284 he gives as his authoritative basis Book, Sunna, Agreement of the Companions—the regular Ḥanbalite *'uṣūl*—but adds "rational proofs" (*'adillat al-'aḳl*) and *al-fiṭra*. By the last he evidently means the attitude of the uncontaminated mind, or unprejudiced intuition (cf. article Fiṭra in the Encyclopedia of Islam). On p. 310 he paraphrases it by *badāhat al-'uḳūl wa-ṣarā'iḥuhā*. He divides his consideration under 21 Questions. Of these Questions VI–XIV (pp. 62–144) deal with the Inquisition (*su'āl*) by Munkar and Nakīr in the grave and the Punishment (*'adhāb*) in the grave (see article Ḳiyāma in the Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. ii, p. 1049, and Munkar and Nakīr article in the same). These need not be further considered here. Question XV (pp. 144–188) deals with the abode (*mustaḳarr*) of souls in the *barzaḳh*, or interval, between death and the Resurrection. On this Ibn Ḳaiyim gives in detail a mass of the most contradictory if picturesque traditions and the consequent varying dogmatic positions. Finally (pp. 184ff.) he states the following as the preponderant (*al-rādjiḥ*) positions: (i) Souls of prophets are in the Highest 'Illīyūn (Ḳur. lxxxiii, 18, 19; Lisān xix, p. 327; Horowitz, Jewish Proper Names, p. 215) in different abodes; (ii) souls of some martyrs (*shuhadā'*) are in the crops of green birds in Paradise; the exception is of those who died in debt and who are held from entering Paradise; see

on the adjustment of such wrongs at the Last Day article Ḳiyāma referred to above; (iii) again others will be held (*maḥbūs*) at the very gate of Paradise; (iv) some martyrs will be held in their graves, e. g., one who had taken a shirt by fraud; (v) in another tradition martyrs, apparently in general, are at the gate of Paradise in a green *ḳubba;* (vi) some souls will be held in the earth, unable to ascend to the Heavenly Host (*al-mala' al-'a'lā*) because they are low (*suflī*) and earthy (*'araḍī*) in nature and cannot consort with the heavenly souls (*al-'anfus al-samāwīya*) as they could not consort with them in this world; in the body they had not known and drawn near to Allāh and they cannot do so now that they are separated from the body; (vii) some souls are in the oven (*tannūr*) of adulterers and adulteresses and swimming in the river of blood. So there is no one abode for souls, blessed or castaway; one soul is in the highest heaven and another earthy soul cannot ascend from the earth. All the traditions on this matter are true, each confirming the other, however they may seem to clash; they have to be understood rightly and knowledge of the *nafs* and of the rules (*'aḥkām*) bearing on it is different from knowledge of the body. It is plain that the disposal of the souls of "martyrs" had given great difficulty; simply by their death they entered Paradise at once, but in themselves they might be of low moral and spiritual order. Further, the *nafs* although it is in Paradise, that is in the sky (*al-samā'*), is joined also to the corruption (*fanā'*) of the grave and of the body in it; it is the swiftest thing in motion and transference and in ascending and descending; it is divided into unrestricted (*mursala*) and held (*maḥbūsa*), low and lofty. In the course of its existence it has four abodes (*dūr*): (i) in the womb; (ii) in this world for which it was formed and in which it gains good and evil for itself, future weal or woe; (iii) in the *barzaḵh;* (iv) in its last and abiding abode (*dār al-ḳarār*) of the Garden or the Fire. And each of these abodes is greater and wider than the one before it. It is evident that Ibn Ḳaiyim, while he, as a Ḥanbalite, clung to the traditions as infallible authority, had the greatest difficulty in unifying them.

And it is evident, also, that the *nafs* of Muslim theology is entirely different from the spiritual ψυχή of Greek philosophy. It is, on the contrary, the ψυχή of the Pauline theology, an expression for the fleshly appetites of the personality, and both derive from the Hebrew *néphesh.*

His XVIth Question (pp. 188–228) is, Are the souls of the dead profited at all by actions of the living? His general answer, based again on a mass of traditions, is that they are so profited in a variety of ways, especially (i) by those actions for which the deceased had already established preparations (*tasabbaba*) in his life time, and (ii) by prayer and intercession by Muslims, almsgiving, pilgrimaging, fasting and other acts of *'ibāda* executed in his intention. The conflict here, as always, is between the plain meaning of traditions and the implications of theological

systems; but the whole question does not bear essentially on the meaning of the *rūḥ*.

It is different with Ibn Ḳaiyim's first three Questions which deal with the possibility and actuality of meetings, recognitions and intercourse between the spirits of the dead and the living. This is illustrated by a profusion of frankly spiritist stories of such intercourse, like those given similarly by al-Ghazzālī in his Durra and in the last Book of his Iḥyā and accepted by practically all Islām. The Muslim world is full of ghost stories; on a modern development see the end of this article. This intercourse takes place especially in sleep and a fundamental text is Ḳur. xxxix, 43, although the word used there, as always in the Ḳur'ān of the human soul, is *nafs* and not *rūḥ;* cf. Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii, p. 199 foot. " Allāh takes to himself souls at the time of their death and in their sleep those who have not died; then he retains those whose death he has decreed (*ḳaḍā*) and sends back the others unto a fixed term." Thus for all Islām sleep is a temporary death and in it the soul, whether called *nafs* or *rūḥ*, is set free for spiritual intercourse. Baiḍāwī quotes a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās, evidently an explanation of *nafs* being the word used here, that in the human being are a *nafs* and a *rūḥ* between which is the like of the rays of the sun; the *nafs* is that in which is reason (*'aḳl*)—in this respect like the Platonic ψυχή which has νοῦς—and discrimination (*tamyīz*) and the *rūḥ* is that in which is breath (*nafas*) and life (*ḥayāt*); they are both taken in death, but in sleep only the *nafs* is taken. Cf. also Ḳur. vi, 60 and article by Fränkel, ZDMG, lvi, 77 and The sleep of the soul in JAOS, April, 1920, pp. 103 ff. For Ibn Ḳaiyim, however, who quotes this text again and again, *nafs* and *rūḥ* in this connection are the same.

The IVth Question is, Do souls die with their bodies? and Ibn Ḳaiyim's answer is that death for the soul is only its separation from the body. This leads to a discussion of the nature of death and of the sequence of events on the Day of Resurrection (see article Ḳiyāma already referred to). The Vth Question is, How can souls be distinguished from one another when separated from their bodies? Have they any " form " (*shakl, ṣūra*)? This opens the whole question as to the nature of the *rūḥ* and the distinction, when there is any, between it and the *nafs*. Ibn Ḳaiyim says that this question cannot be answered by those who assert that the soul is incorporeal, is not in space and has no form—that is, those philosophical theologians, such as al-Ghazzālī and al-Rāzī, who made these positions possible in orthodox Islām. Nor by those who assert that the soul is one of the accidents (*'araḍ*) of the body and apart from it ceases to exist. But only on the principles of the People of the Sunna, based on Ḳur'ān, Sunna, traditions, reflection (*i'tibār*) and reason. On these it is an essence existent in itself (*dhāt ḳā'ima bi-nafsihā*) which ascends and descends, and joins and separates, and goes

out, and comes and goes, and moves and rests (p. 58). Thus it is spoken of in Ḳur'ān and traditions. To this subject he returns in much greater detail in his Questions XIX and XX (pp. 279 and 342). In the first he considers three points: (i) Is the *nafs* one of the parts of the body, or one of its accidents, or a body (*djism*) deposited in it, or an incorporeal substance (*djawhar mudjarrad*)? (ii) Is it the *rūḥ* or something else? (iii) Are the *nafs al-'ammāra, al-lawwāma* and *al-muṭma'inna* one *nafs* having these as qualities or three separate *'anfus?* This third question refers to the basal position as to the *nafs* in Muslim ethics, according to which it is really the same as our "flesh" (the Pauline ψυχή), i. e., the physical appetites which demand their satisfaction and which must be subdued and regulated. The *nafs* for Muḥammad was the self, the soul, but the soul was essentially a craver of evil. This view of the self was Hebrew also and is very plain in the basal idea of the Hebrew *néphesh,* "appetite" or "the appetitive soul," and the process of dealing with it is stated in the three Ḳur'ānic texts to which this question refers. Further, the contrast between this *nafs* and the Ḳur'ānic *rūḥ* is plain. In Ḳur. xii, 53 Allāh puts into the mouth of Joseph, "the soul (*nafs,* fleshly appetite) indeed commands to evil" (*la'ammāra bi-l-sū'*). In Ḳur. lxxv, 2 Allāh swears by the *nafs al-lawwāma,* the upbraiding *nafs* which struggles with itself. When the struggle ends in submission to the will of Allāh and in peace, it is addressed (Ḳur. lxxxix, 27) as the *nafs al-muṭma'inna,* the *nafs* at rest. Is this then a process of regeneration or three separate *'anfus* within every man? Ibn Ḳaiyim goes on to give a conspectus of the most varied views as to the *rūḥ* and the *nafs* and their identity or their relationship to each other and to "life" (*al-ḥayāt*) and "force" (*al-ḳūwa*) and "breath" (*al-nafas*) and to physical bodies (*'adjsām*) and their accidents (*'a'rāḍ*) and to the four "natures" (*al-ṭabā'i'*), heat, cold, moisture, dryness, citing al-Ash'ari, al-Djubbā'ī, al-Bāḳillānī, Ibn Ḥazm, Aristotle, &c. and evidently intending to show the jungle of confusion from which only Book, Sunna and tradition, when rationally and normally used, can save us. In the end he gives a question posited by al-Rāzī, What does a man indicate when he says "I"? Al-Rāzī's answer is that according to the multitude (*djumhūr al-ḳhalḳ*) and the majority of the Mutakallims, "man" (*al-'insān*) is an expression for "this body and special structure" (*hādhā-l-badan wal-haikal al-maḳhṣūṣ;* on *haikal* see Massignon, Passion, ii, p. 482, note 1). [This is evidently a reference to al-Rāzī's discussion of Ḳur. xvii, 87 in his Mafātiḥ al-ghaib (ed. Cairo 1308, vol. v, pp. 431ff.). Al-Rāzī ascribes this view to the *djumhūr al-mutakallimīn* and rejects it in more than two pages of 17 refutations. See further below.] This Ibn Ḳaiyim rejects as the falsest of all the statements, falser even than the position of Ibn Sīnā and his followers. For him "Man" means the body and the *rūḥ* together. Further (p. 284) the

rūḥ can be defined as "a body (*djism*) different in quiddity (*māhīya*) from the sensible body, of the nature of light (*nūrānī*), lofty (*'ulwī*), light (*khafīf*), living, moving, which penetrates the substance of the (physical) limbs (*djawhar al-'a'ḍā'*) and runs in them as water runs in a rose and oil in an olive and fire in charcoal. So long as these limbs are sound, so as to receive the imprints proceeding from this subtle (*laṭīf*) body, it remains intertwined (*mushābik*) with them and gives them these imprints of sense and intentional (*'irādīya*) movement. But whenever these limbs are corrupted (*fasada*), through coarse admixtures (*al-'akhlāṭ al-ghalīẓa*) overpowering them, and become unable to receive these imprints the *rūḥ* separates itself from the body (*badan*) and is transferred to (*infaṣala 'ilā*) the world of spirits (*'ālam al-'arwāḥ*)." Then follow 116 proofs of this position, derived from Ḳur'ān, tradition, ghost-stories and logical arguments. Arguments (22) of opponents are then refuted, and Ibn Ḳaiyim, in proof of the possibility of the interpenetration of two bodies if one of them is *laṭīf*—as the *rūḥ* in his theory—falls back finally (p. 341) on the evident traces in the world of the workings of angels and djinn which cannot be doubted; these effects exist and are beyond human powers. Such interpenetration exists evidently in those possessed (*maṣrū'*) by the djinn. He goes on, then, under Question XX, to give a lexicographical conspectus of the different meanings of the words *nafs* and *rūḥ*, citing the Ṣiḥāḥ as his principal authority. *Nafs* has the following meanings: the *rūḥ*; the blood (*dam*); the body (*djasad*); the (evil) eye (*'ain*)—but Ibn Ḳaiyim objects that this is really a case of *rūḥ*. It is used (*tuṭlaḳ*), he continues, in the Ḳur'ān for the essence, or personality, as a whole (*al-dhāt bi-djumlatihā*), and also for the *rūḥ* alone. *Rūḥ* is not used for the body (*badan*) either separately or along with the *nafs*. But it is used for the Ḳur'ān or for inspiration (*waḥy*). In this connection he cites the Ḳur'ānic texts in which *rūḥ* occurs along with *'amr* (Ḳur'ānic Usages VIII above) and explains that the Ḳur'ān and inspiration are called *rūḥ* because they bring the life (*ḥayāt*) which is truly useful (*nāfi'a*), and *rūḥ* is called *rūḥ* because through it comes the life of the body; the *nafs* is called *rūḥ* for the same reason. The difference, thus, between *nafs* and *rūḥ* is not essential but in qualities. He goes on to give a statement of the views of those—traditionalists, canon-lawyers and Ṣūfīs—who make an essential distinction between the *rūḥ* and the *nafs*. For them the nature of the *nafs* is of clay (*ṭīnīya*) and of fire (*nārīya*), while that of the *rūḥ* is of light (*nūrīya*) and it is spiritual (*rūḥānīya*); some even say that the *nafs* is "human" (*nāsūtīya*) while the *rūḥ* is "divine" (*lāhūtīya*). Others that the *'arwāḥ* are spiritual (*rūḥānīya*) and formed (*khuliḳat*) from *al-malakūt*, "then when they become pure (*ṣafat*) they return to *al-malakūt*." The "fleshly" (*ψυχικόν*) nature of the *nafs* is emphasized; desire (*hawā*) and lust

(*shahwa*) and temptation (*balā'*) are "kneaded into it" (*ma'djūn fīhā*). Another has said that in man are three things, life and *rūḥ* and *nafs*. By the *nafs* he reasons, and it is the *nafs* which leaves him in sleep and sees what he dreams of but remains connected with his body as by an extended cord (*ḥabl mumtadd*). Life and the *rūḥ* remain in his body and the *nafs* returns, swift as a glance of the eye, when he awakes. [The nature of sleep and dreaming and the part played in them by the *rūḥ* still occupy the Muslim mind. See an Answer on this in the Bāb al-masā'il of the Cairene monthly Al-Muḳtaṭaf for Dec. 1928, p. 463.] This is evidently based on the often cited Ḳur'ānic explanation of dreams (Ḳur. xxxix, 43) and on the fact that *nafs* is the word used there. Others say that the believer has three *'arwāḥ* and the unbeliever only one, while prophets and the *ṣiddīḳūn* have five.

This last view that there is more than one kind of *rūḥ* Ibn Ḳaiyim holds. There is (i) the *rūḥ* taken by Allāh in death and it is also the *nafs;* we would call it the "soul." (ii) A different *rūḥ* is that with which Allāh aids his *walī's;* this is the *rūḥ* with which he aided 'Īsā b. Maryam (Ḳur'ānic Usage VII above). (iii) The physical senses (*al-ḳuwā*) of sight, hearing, &c., placed in the body and dying with the body are each called *rūḥ,* e. g., *al-rūḥ al-bāṣir.* These are different from the *rūḥ* which does not die with the body. But the term *rūḥ* is used absolutely and more especially (*'akhaṣṣ*) for another sense (*ḳūwa*) by which Allāh is known and the penitent returns to him and to the love of him and by which solicitude is roused to seek him and his will. The relationship of this *rūḥ* to the soul is like the relationship of the soul to the body; the soul without this *rūḥ* is like the body without its soul. This is evidently a fuller statement as to (ii) above. "On account of this people say, 'In so-and-so is a spirit [i. e. he is a spiritually minded man] and in so-and-so is no spirit, but he is a stuffed skin (*baww,* "tulchan") and a pithless cane' ... this is the greatest distinction between men." So some are spiritual (*rūḥānī*) and some are earthy (*'araḍī*) and animal (*bahīmī*).

This leads naturally to Question XXI, the longest of all, pp. 346–427, an exposition that the *nafs* is one, and of the discipline by which the "*nafs* commanding to evil" can be reduced to the "*nafs* at rest in its Lord." It is essentially a little treatise on the primitive ascetic mysticism of Islām before speculative mysticism entered it; a final gathering up of the principles of the devout life according to the school of Ibn Taimīya and a protest against such philosophizing as that of Ibn al-'Arabī—there is an allusion to his Fuṣūṣ on p. 415—which obliterated not only moral distinctions but the separateness of Allāh himself from his creation (*ṭā'ifatu-l-ittiḥādīya; djama'ū-l-kull fī dhāt wāḥida*). In opposition to such unifying Ibn Ḳaiyim emphasizes that the Ḳur'ān is also a *Furḳān* and arranges his treatise in a series of sections bringing

out the "distinction" (*farḳ*) between this and that. The essence of moral philosophy and of the discipline of the soul for him is *distinguamus*.

But Ibn Ḳaiyim has noticed that in the Ḳur'ān *rūḥ* is never used simply of the human soul, however common that usage is in the traditions; the Ḳur'ānic word is always *nafs, 'anfus* (p. 245). Yet many have taken the Ḳur'ānic word *rūḥ*, have applied it as used in Ḳur'ānic texts to the human soul, have misinterpreted those texts and have in consequence gone gravely astray as to the nature of the human soul. To this he devotes Question XVII (pp. 228–248). Is the Ḳur'ānic *rūḥ* eternal *a parte ante* (*ḳadīm*) or originated (*muḥdaṯ*) and created (*maḵhlūḳ*)? For Ibn Ḳaiyim there is nothing eternal and uncreated except Allāh himself; there are only two things in existence: Allāh and his creation. But certain Ḳur'ānic texts and traditions had been quoted and explained in such a way as to bring the *rūḥ* into a unique relation to Allāh. These are the statements that the *rūḥ* is of the *'amr* of Allāh (*min 'amri rabbī;* xvii, 87) and that Allāh "breathed" (*nafaḵha*) into Adam some of his *rūḥ* (*min rūḥihi;* xv, 29; xxxii, 8; xxxviii, 72). There is also the statement in a tradition that Allāh created his creation in darkness and cast upon them some of his light (*wa-'alḳā 'alaihim min nūrihi*). In consequence some have held that the *'arwāḥ* of men are light from the light of Allāh and life from his life. And others have interpreted the statement that the *rūḥ* is of the *'amr* of Allāh in the sense that it is his affair and that he has made obscure (*'aḵhfā*) its essence (*ḥaḳīḳa*) and the knowledge of it to his creation. But *'amr* in the sense "command" is one of the species of speech (*'aḥad 'anwā'i-l-kalām*); that is, it belongs to the eternal quality Speech in Allāh. Similarly "his *rūḥ*," "his light" put *rūḥ* and light into a relationship (*'iḍāfa*) to the eternal Allāh and thus they must also be eternal. In consequence some, in spite of the agreement of prophets, companions, followers and the *salaf* in general, have held that the *rūḥ* is uncreated or that it is neither created nor uncreated; and some have even specifically described (*ḵhaṣṣa*) certain "sanctified spirits" (*'arwāḥ al-ḳuds*) as of the very essence of Allāh (*min ḏhāt Allāh*). Further there grew up among Shī'ites—Ibn Ḳaiyim calls them *ṣinf min al-zanādiḳa wa-ṣinf min al-rawāfiḍa*—the doctrine of the Imām who knows everything without being taught; for he has by inheritance the spirit of Adam which was separated off from the essence of Allāh (*infaṣala min ḏhāt Allāh*).

In his reply Ibn Ḳaiyim names as his guide Ibn Taimīya (p. 231) and does not mention Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He must have known that Aḥmad had been in doubt on the non-eternity of the *rūḥ*. Cf. his statement (Massignon, Passion, ii, pp. 661, 664), "Whoever says that the *rūḥ* is created is a heretic; whoever says that it is eternal is an unbeliever." Apparently Ibn Ḳaiyim alludes to this when he throws in

that some hold that the *rūḥ* is neither created nor uncreated (p. 229). He gives twelve positive proofs that it is created. Then (pp. 240 ff.) he deals with the Ḳur'ānic basis of those who hold the opposite doctrine; they, like all innovators (*mubtadi'*), follow the obscure (*mutashābih*) passages of the Ḳur'ān rather than the clear and certain (*muḥkam*). Their great support is the relation in the Ḳur'ān of the *rūḥ* to the *'amr* of Allāh. But *'amr* in those passages means, as often, *al-ma'mūr,* "the thing commanded," and that is certainly created. Further, the *rūḥ* in Ḳur. xvii, 87 ("of the *'amr* of my Lord") is, by agreement, not any human soul but the *rūḥ* who will stand on the Day of Resurrection along with the angels (Ḳur'ānic Usages V above) and who is a mighty angel. Further, the commonly accepted story as to the cause of Ḳur'ān xvii, 87 (Ḳur'ānic Usages VIIIb above) is based on six contradictory traditions going back to Ibn 'Abbās and cannot be depended on to indicate that there is anything esoteric and uncommunicable about the *rūḥ*. This leads to a consideration of the real meaning and usages of the word *rūḥ* in the Ḳur'ān. It means (i) inspiration (*waḥy*); (ii) strength (*ḳūwa*); (iii) Djibrīl; (iv) the above mentioned particular and mighty angel; (v) 'Īsā; but it never means in the Ḳur'ān the human soul. Again, in interpreting the texts (Ḳur'ānic Usages I above) that Allāh blew into Adam some of his *rūḥ* we must distinguish between qualities (*ṣifāt*) and parts put in a relationship (*'iḍāfa*) to Allāh and things (*'a'yān*) which are separate from Allāh. The qualities (e. g., knowledge, power, speech) do not exist in themselves, nor do the parts (e. g., face, hand). These are uncreated. But the separate things (e. g., the Camel of Allāh, the House of Allāh) exist in themselves and their relation to Allāh is only to specify them and to glorify them. The spirit of Allāh poured out in his breathing is of this second kind; so this spirit is created. In man, therefore, there is no element of divinity at all; he is "owned" (*marbūb*) and there is no "ownership" (*rubūbīya*) in him.

It has been necessary to give so much space to the position of Ibn Ḳaiyim as his is certainly the belief of the great majority of Muslims down to the present time. This holds most explicitly of the Wahhābites who are devoted sectaries of Ibn Taimīya. For them a *rūḥ* is always created and material and the word when it means a personality can be applied to an angel, a djinnī, a shaiṭān, or a human soul. In consequence *Allāhu rūḥ,* which for us means "God is a spirit," and which seems to us the simplest and most intelligible statement about God, is for them the most horrible blasphemy. See a case illustrating this attitude, in the article by the present writer, From the Arabian Nights to Spirit (*Moslem World,* Oct. 1919, p. 342); the gulf between Allāh and their conception of *rūḥ* is made very clear. On the other hand it may be said broadly that among Persian Muslims at

present there seems to be no objection to speaking of Khudā as *rūḥ* (William Miller, Meshed, by letter). It is so used by modern Persian poets and by Bahā'īs. It is even possible for a modern Egyptian writer to begin an article entitled *'Arwāḥ ḳudamā' al-Miṣr,* after the *Basmala,* with *Ḥamdᵃⁿ laka yā rūḥ 'arwāḥ al-'ālamīn,* meaning evidently Allāh.

At the opposite extreme to the Wahhābite position is the use of the phrase *al-rūḥ al-'aʿẓam,* "the Great Spirit," as applied to Allāh either absolutely or in respect to some phase of his existence. Absolutely it is used by 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1329; cf. article upon him in the Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. i, pp. 61–63) in his commentary on line 638 of the Tā'īya-poem of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235; cf. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, pp. 162 ff., 255) on the margin of the Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ed. Cairo 1319, vol. ii, p. 194. And the Persian poet 'Aṭṭār even called Allāh *rūḥ kullī,* "the Universal Spirit" (Massignon, Passion, i, p. 436). In the same 'Abd al-Razzāḳ's Dict. of Ṣūfī techn. terms (ed. Sprenger, p. 150, no. 464) the *rūḥ al-'aʿẓam* (also called *al-'aḳdam, al-'auwal wa-l-'āḳhir*) is defined shortly as "the First Reason" (*al-'aḳl al-'auwal*). In the Ta'rīfāt of al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413) the term also occurs in the midst of a general statement as to the *rūḥ* (ed. Cairo 1321, p. 77). This statement is quoted, also, at length with some variant readings in Dict. of techn. terms, p. 548, and in the Itḥāf al-sādat of the Saiyid Murtaḍā, his commentary on the Iḥyā of al-Ghazzālī, vol. i, p. 332. That it is so quoted by the Saiyid Murtaḍā (d. 1206/1790), a theologian of accepted orthodoxy although an admitted Ṣūfī, shows that the statement is possible for all philosophical theologians in Islām. He uses it in the exposition of the passage in the Iḥyā (Book of 'Ilm, Bāb v, Waẓīfa ix) where al-Ghazzālī mentions the *rūḥ* and quotes on it Ḳur. xvii, 87. By 'Abd al-Razzāḳ the term is not used flatly of Allāh but of a phase of his manifestation. His statement is evidently regarded as so fundamental and is so rich in technical terms that it may be translated in full. "The human *rūḥ* is a subtle thing (*laṭīfa*), belonging to man, which knows and perceives and which is imposed (*rākiba*) upon the animal *rūḥ;* it descends from the World of Command (*'ālam al-'amr*) and (human) intellects (*'uḳūl*) cannot attain to perceiving its farthest limit. That *rūḥ* sometimes occurs stripped (*mudjarrada,* i. e. of materiality) and sometimes covered in the body (*muntabiḳa fī-l-badan;* another reading is *muntabiʿa 'alā-l-badan,* "imprinted on the body"). The animal *rūḥ* is a subtle body (*djism;* i. e., a material body but subtle) the source of which is the hollow of the physical heart; it is spread by means of the vessels which separate to all parts of the body. The *rūḥ al-'aʿẓam,* which is the human *rūḥ,* is the place of manifestation (*maẓhar;* cf. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, pp. 113, 126) of the Divine Essence (*al-dhāt al-'ilāhīya*) in respect of Lordship (*al-rubūbīya* ownership) and on account of that it is

impossible that it should be reached or joined; none knows its farthest limit except Allāh and none attains this desire (*al-bughya*) save he. It is "the First Reason" (*al-'aḳl al-'auwal*), the Essence of Muḥammad (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadīya;* i. e., what he is in his absolute reality; cf. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 105, 109, 110, 113, 122), the Single Personality (*al-nafs al-wāḥida*), the Name-Essence (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-'asmā'iya*). It is the first entity (*mawdjūd*) which Allāh created in his image (*'alā ṣūratihi*) and the Great Khalīfa (Ḳur. ii, 28; cf. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 130, 155). It is the Luminous Substance (*al-djawhar al-nūrānī*) whose substantiality is the place of manifestation of the (Divine) Essence (*al-dhāt*) and whose luminosity (*nūrānīya*) is the place of manifestation of that Essence's knowledge (*'ilm*); with respect to substantiality it is called Single Personality (*Nafs Wāḥida*) and with respect to luminosity it is called First Reason (*'Akl 'Auwal*). Just as in the macrocosm (*al-'ālam al-kabīr*) it has places of manifestation and names, such as the First Reason, the Highest Pen (*al-ḳalam al-'a'lā*), the Light, the Universal Personality (*al-nafs al-kullīya*), the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), &c., so in the human microcosm (*al-'ālam al-ṣaghīr al-'insānī*) it has places of manifestation and names, according to its manifestations and stages, (used) in the technical language of the People of Allāh and of others, such as the Secret (*al-sirr*), Secrecy or Covering (*al-khafā'*), the *Rūḥ,* the Heart or Mind (*al-ḳalb*), the Single Word (*al-kalima*), the Heart or Mind (*al-rū';* this is almost certainly a variant form of *rūḥ* but is normally explained as "the fearing mind," *al-ḳalb al-khā'if*), the Heart (*al-fu'ād;* physical and affectional), the Breast (*al-ṣadr*), the Reason (*al-'aḳl*), the Personality (*al-nafs*). For *al-kalima* the Saiyid Murtaḍā reads *al-kullīya,* the Totality.

This statement anticipates the later mystical attitude towards the nature of the human soul in which it was regarded as non-material and even as a phase of the divine essence. The *rūḥ al-'a'ẓam* here is not Allāh but is the human soul regarded as a totality; it is a primary entity, in Allāh's image, the representative and viceroy of Allāh in the world, the First Reason, the real Muḥammad, a single personality embracing all, a light illumining all; it manifests itself in the microcosm and in the macrocosm in diverse ways and under different names. It is thus in its absolute meaning inscrutable to all but Allāh himself. This is a general statement about the soul and therefore no mention is made in it either of the *Ḳuṭb,* an individual official, if spiritual, administrator, nor of the *'Insān al-kāmil,* an ideal figure, very suggestive of the ἄνηρ τέλειον of Pauline theology, to whom we shall come later. But the real—or, as we would say, the ideal—Muḥammad enters because he carries the soul of Adam, the Great and First Khalīfa.

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THE MEN ON THE A'RĀF (*Surah vii: 44*)

The passage of the Koran in which reference is made to "men on the *a'rāf,*" Surah vii, v. 44, *aṣḥāb al-a'raf,* v. 46, is one which has never been satisfactorily explained. The meaning and derivation of *a'rāf* are alike disputed. Moslem interpretation as represented by Baiḍāwī, takes *a'rāf* in the sense of "high parts." This is accepted by Tor Andrae (*Ursprung des Islams,* p. 77) who says that the word can only mean "heights." But there seems to be no justification for this linguistically, unless we assume a metathesis of the letters of the Arabic root *rf',* to raise up,—a very unusual thing to happen in Arabic.

Horovitz (*Das Koranische Paradies,* p. 6) takes the word as meaning something like a wall. This rests upon a comparison of the passage in the Koran most similar to this; viz., lvii, 13, where we read: "On the day when the Hypocrites, male and female, will say to those who have believed: 'Wait for us; let us borrow some of your light,' it will be said: 'Turn back again and seek light.' Then between them will be set up a wall with a door in it, inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it the punishment. . . ."

That that passage is founded upon a reminiscence of the parable of the Foolish Virgins (Matt. xxv, 1 ff.) is so obvious as hardly to require pointing out. It may however be noted here as showing that Mohammed was, however remotely, acquainted with something in that chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Now to the "wall" of lvii, 13 corresponds, not the *a'rāf,* but the "partition" (*ḥijāb*) of

vii, 44; so that Baiḍāwi's interpretation takes the *aʿrāf* not as the wall itself but as the "high parts of the partition or wall." This representative Moslem interpretation then proceeds to take the end of v. 44, and v. 45 as referring to the men on the *aʿrāf*: "They do not enter it (the Garden) much as they desire to do so. And when their looks are turned towards the inmates of the Fire, they say: 'O our Lord, place us not with the wrong-doing people.'"

Thus, according to this reading of the passage, the men on the *aʿrāf* do not enter the Garden and pray not to be placed in the Fire. They occupy a middle position on the heights of the partition. They are "those monotheists who have fallen short in good works, and who are reserved in a special place between the Garden and the Fire, until Allah makes known His pleasure regarding them." Hence *aʿrāf* would mean something corresponding to Purgatory, an intermediate state in which the dead, or at least some of them, are retained until their final state is decided. A derivation of the word has therefore been sought which would give that sense, and has been found in an Ethiopic word for "the departed" as first suggested by Ludolph. The objection to this is that one would have expected the word to have been borrowed in the form of the noun of place. That objection, however, would not be fatal, if the explanation were otherwise satisfactory.

A more serious objection to the whole explanation is that, as pointed out by Tor Andrae, there is no trace of the idea of an intermediate state elsewhere in the Koran. A further difficulty is that one would naturally assume from the beginning of v. 44 and from v. 46 that the men of the *aʿrāf* occupy a quite special position. They know the other parties by their marks, and address to them what amounts to commendation and condemnation. Yet the accepted interpretation places them in a worse position than the ordinary believers. This has apparently been noted by Massignon in an article which has unfortunately been inaccessible to me; according to Tor Andrae's note,

he arrives at the conclusion that the men on the *a'rāf* are judges, chosen righteous men whom Allah allows to take part in the Judgment,—a conclusion with which I agree.

Additional difficulties appear on further consideration of the passage. What, for instance, is the object of saying that the men on the *a'rāf* know the two parties by their marks, if, as the context seems clearly to state, these two parties are already separated, the one enjoying the Garden, the other suffering in the Fire? If, as Massignon holds, these men are judges, actually engaged in separating out the two parties, the phrase has a cogent meaning, but on the traditional interpretation it is otiose. Then, while it may be possible to conceive of the two parties shouting to each other over a partition or wall, the natural implication of the verses in which they are represented as speaking to each other, and especially of v. 48 where those in the fire ask those in the garden to give them some of their abundance of water or of food, is that they see and converse freely with each other and that there is no wall between them. In short, the verses which speak of the men on the *a'rāf* (vv. 44, 46, 47) are not really consistent with the context, and may be set aside meantime as a later insertion.

Turning our attention to what remains, Grimme (*Der Koran,* p. 140) has already recognized v. 43 as being out of place. The occurrence of the description in iii, 94 where it is applied to the People of the Book suggests that it was an expansion of *aẓ-ẓālimīn,* "those who do wrong," at the end of the preceding verse, designed to point the passage against the Jews, after Mohammed had quarrelled with them in Medina; though this particular reference of the verse, must, in view of other occurrences of the phrase, be regarded as not established. But the verse is almost certainly a later addition intended to give a more precise content to *aẓ-ẓālimīn.* Similarly v. 49 is an addition designed to point the epithet *al-kāfirīn,* "unbelievers," at the end of v. 48 against a particular class of persons.

Now it is perhaps a matter of subjective judgment, but founded on experience of many similar phenomena in the Koran, when I go further and say that the end of v. 42 did not originally belong to it, but is an alteration designed perhaps to introduce the passage about the men on the *aʿrāf,* and that the original end of v. 42 is now found as v. 46. It will be noticed that the rhyme word of v. 46 *aẓ-ẓālimīn,* is the same as the rhyme word of v. 42 with its present ending, an almost sure sign in the Koran that some alteration has taken place.

Let us see now what we get as the original of the passage. It is dramatic in form, the scene being described in the prophetic perfect tense.

42. The inmates of the Garden will call to the inmates of the Fire: "We have found what our Lord promised us true; have ye found what your Lord promised you true?" They will reply: "Yes!"

46. And when their looks are turned towards the inmates of the Fire, they will say: "O our Lord place us not with the wrong-doing people."

48. The inmates of the Fire will call to the inmates of the Garden: "Cause some of the water, or of what Allah has provided for you to overflow upon us"; they will reply: "Verily Allah has forbidden both to the unbelievers."

It seems to me that there can be no doubt that we have here a remote reminiscence of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, Luke xvi, 19ff.

Let us next take the verses which refer to the men on the *aʿrāf.* V. 46, which the traditional interpretation takes as referring to them, has already been taken in the preceding reconstruction as referring to the inmates of the Garden. The end of v. 44 which that interpretation takes as a statement about them, need not be so taken. In fact it is grammatically somewhat difficult to do so. The clause may quite well form part of what the men on the *aʿrāf* say to the people of the Garden. The passage is again dramatic, and the men on the *aʿrāf* addressing those who are assigned to the Garden, point to the excluded ones and say: "They have not entered it, much as they desire to do so." Similarly in v. 47, in addressing certain of the excluded parties, they point to the people of the

Garden and ask: "Are these the ones whom ye swore that Allah would not extend His mercy to?" and then turning to the latter, they tell them to enter the Garden. In a dramatic passage like this, such abrupt changes of reference and address need not disconcert us.

Now it is evident from the end of v. 47, just referred to, that the two parties are not yet actually in the Garden and the Fire respectively, but are only being assigned to their abodes. It is in reality a judgment scene that is being described. The men on the *a'rāf* who "know them by their marks" are separating out the two parties and passing judgment upon them. Where does that conception come from? No doubt ultimately from the Judgment scene described in the New Testament (Matt. xxv, 31ff.): "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory; And before him shall be gathered all nations and he shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. . . ."

Now according to Mohammed, Jesus was a prophet. Whether he had more than a vague report of the New Testament scene is doubtful, but in any case he seems to have conceived of Jesus judging his own people, while other prophets would no doubt in like manner judge theirs. In fact in Surah xlvii, 32 we have a hint that he himself had been given the power of distinguishing the pretended from the true believers by their marks: "If We pleased, We should cause thee to see them and thou shouldst know them by their mark. . . ." The men on the *a'rāf* are therefore the prophets who on the Judgment-day knowing their people by their marks separate them out for their respective destinies.

So far we have arrived at no solution of what is meant by *a'rāf*. The New Testament passage seems to afford no explanation, for while by giving the word the sense of "heights" we might get something approaching the throne mentioned in that scene, no reason suggests itself why this unusual word should have been used to express that, and

as we have seen, the sense of "heights" is difficult to support linguistically. One is loath to cut a knot instead of untying it; but the interpretation of the passage which we have arrived at makes a slight textual emendation very tempting. If instead of *aʿrāf* we read *iʿrāf*, by merely changing a vowel we get a perfectly intelligible sense, and we may then translate the verses as follows:

44. Between the two parties is a partition, and presiding over the recognition are men who recognize them by their mark; and they will call to the people of the Garden: "Peace be upon you! They (*i. e., the others*) have not entered it, much as they yearned to do so."

46. *And the men of the recognition* will call to men whom they recognise by their mark. They will say: "Your gathering has not benefited you, nor the pride which ye have been showing."

47. Are these the ones whom ye swore that Allah would not extend His mercy to?—Enter the Garden without fear upon you, and without grieving."

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AMASIA: NECROPOLIS OF ASIA MINOR

Amasia, a small modern town in Northern Asia Minor, has been celebrated for many centuries. It was the birthplace, residence and last resting place of several remarkable persons through the different periods of the long and complicated historical life of Asia Minor, and the scene of important events from the earliest times till the Ottoman sovereignty. Many traces of this glory are preserved in Amasia, such as tombs, ruins, etc., but we have a special interest in those of the time of the Ottomans.[1]

In the course of my researches in the field of Ottoman-Turkish literature and history, I had often met the name of Amasia as the centre of religious, literary and cultural life of Turkey during the first two or three centuries of its existence. Some interesting places in Amasia were well known to me from descriptions in Oriental and European sources, but, unfortunately, I have never seen them. Twice in my youth I undertook journeys in Asia Minor, in 1905 and 1906. I was sent on my second expedition by learned Russian societies with the special aim of collecting linguistic and ethnological material. I visited Eski-Shehir, Angora, Kaisariyeh, Konia, Afiun-Kara-Hisar, but I did not reach Amasia.

In the summer of 1927 Dr. R. M. Riefstahl went to Asia Minor for his studies on the history of Turkish architecture. I availed myself of that opportunity and asked him to take photographs of some important mosques and *turbehs* (sepulchres) in Amasia, which I indicated to him. I was extremely glad and very grateful to him

1 Mordtmann A. D., Anatolien: Skizzen und Reisebriefe. Eingeleitet . . . von Franz Babinger. Hannover. 1925. SS. 91, 94, 95.

when I received the pictures of these buildings, which are particularly interesting because of the personages they concern and about whom I shall talk further.

Among the famous Turkish holy men buried in Amasia (all together about twelve), the principal place belongs, of course, to Pir Ilias (*pir* in Persian and Turkish means "old man," "prior," "abbot," "chief of dervishes"). He was "the Pole of Poles, the Sheikh (sheikh is equivalent to *pir*), the cream of saints, the column of the Princes," as says Evliya Chelebi, the great Turkish historian, traveller and encyclopædist of the seventeenth century, who made a pilgrimage to his tomb.[2] Pir Ilias, native of Amasia, was born in the time of Bayazid I, Sultan of Turkey (1389–1402). After the battle at Angora in 1402, the famous Tamerlane (Timur-Lang), who in addition to being a great conqueror was also a protector of literary and religious men, sent him to Khorasan and Shirvan to perfect his mystical studies in dervishism. In Shirvan he was the pupil of Sadr ad-Din, one of the best teachers of the dervish order Khalveti. Because of that, Ilias himself became a member of the same order. After his return to Amasia he flourished under the reign of Sultan Mohammed I. (1402–1421), had many disciples and was famous for his pious life and many miracles. He died in Amasia and was buried there on the hill called Sevadiyye. His *turbeh* was built by the order of Sultan Bayazid II. (1481–1512).[3] This *turbeh* is situated on the hill Sevadiyye, which dominates the city of Abasia. Of Amasia itself and its valley, as well as the river Yeshil Irmaq ("The Green River"), a general view can be seen from the hill of the *turbeh* of Pir Ilias.

The nephew and disciple of Pir Ilias, also a dervish of the Khalveti order, Abdarrahman by name, was, like his uncle, a renowned sheikh. Evliya calls him "the

2 Evliya Chelebi. *Siyahet-nameh,* or "The Book of Travels." Turkish text. Constantinople. Vol. II, pp. 193 ff.
Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Evliya Efendi. Transl. by Joseph von Hammer. London. 1850. Vol. II, pp. 101-102.

3 Shaqaiq an-Numaniyye, or "The Crimson Peonies," a biographical dictionary of the Moslem saints by Ahmed Tashköpru-Zadeh, written in Arabic in 1558.
Arabic text, printed in Bulaq, Vol. I, pp. 78–79.
Evliya, op. cit., *ibidem.* Hammer, op. cit., *ibid.*

Sultan of faith, the *Simurgh* (a legendary mystic bird) of truth." He lived in Amasia during the reign of Sultan Murad II. (1421–1451). Several miracles are ascribed to him and many anecdotes related about him. The son of the reigning Sultan, Prince Mohammed, the future Sultan of Turkey, well known under the name of Mohammed II. *Fatih* or "Conqueror" (of Constantinople), visited, with his two brothers, Abd-ar-rahman and kissed the feet of the sheikh. As a reward for his humility the sheikh blessed him and advised him to take the capital of Byzantium. Besides being a holy man, the sheikh was a poet of quality and wrote some poems in the mystic style, which was fashionable in his time. His pen-name was Husami (which means "of Husam"—the name of his father). The mosque bearing his name and his mausoleum were both places of pilgrimage for Moslems.[4]

Pir Ilias was not the only member of his family renowned in the history of Turkey; many great names are numbered among his descendants. Mevlana Belayi, a connection of this family, was a pious man, a sheikh of the dervishes (whence his title *mevlana,* or "our lord," the title often given by the dervishes to their chiefs), a theologian and judge. His name, however, has reached us chiefly because of the glory of his daughter.

We know that the social and family position of women in Mohammedan countries has been preserved without serious change down to the present day, notwithstanding some partial reforms instituted in Turkey during the past few years. Thus we can easily imagine in what conditions the Turkish women lived in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, an absolutely extraordinary personage appeared on this ungrateful soil, Mihri Khatun, the famous Ottoman-Turkish poetess. Mihri Khatun was, as I said, the descendant of Pir Ilias and daughter of Mevlana Belayi. Her real name was Mihr-u-mah, i. e., "Sun-and-moon," but she took as pen-name Mihri or "The Sun-lightened," Khatun being her title, which is almost equal to the English "lady."

4 Evliya and Hammer, *ibid.*

She was born in Amasia, and received, as far as we know, the best education for her time. She knew the fundamentals of Moslem theology, history, literature and even foreign (of course, Oriental) languages. She read a mass of books, and, thanks to her brilliant memory, was able to quote them by heart. In her time Amasia was a cultural centre; its governor was the Prince Ahmed, son of the Sultan Bayazid II., a great lover of art. He gathered about himself a kind of literary circle of educated people and remarkable Turkish poets, amongst whom Mihri held the principal place. She took active and eminent part in the discussions of this circle and, because of her erudition, was often the conqueror of her opponents. She began her literary career with the imitation of the works of Nedjati, the best poet of that age, which fact is in our eyes a proof of her artistic taste. Gradually developing her talent, she reached in her poetical works such heights that all, almost without exception, of the contemporary and later Turkish historians, biographers and critics, as well as all the European Orientalists awarded her one of the first places in the history of Turkish literature. Besides her poems, she left some scientific and theological treatises.

The personal, intimate life of Mihri was exceedingly unusual for her time. She was beautiful in her youth; her riches and her impeccable family connections made her particularly desirable in marriage; but she preferred to remain unmarried throughout her life. She was courted by many suitors, great statesmen, celebrated poets, scholars, brilliant young men of high rank, but refused them all. The Oriental historians, in order to preserve the purity of her name for posterity, assure us that she had taken the vow of virginity, but this is not true. We know the real reason from her own poems and even the Oriental biographers mention it mincingly. Absolutely in vain some European scholars wish to see in Mihri the Turkish Sappho, which is also incorrect. Mihri was seriously captured by love many times in her life, but was

always disenchanted: her heroes proved unworthy of her love. It seems that once she loved extremely deeply; the adventure continued a certain time and scandalized the entire society (especially that of the Moslems!). But it is not clear whether at the end she preferred to remain free and independent or was abandoned. During this love-affair she proudly lifted her head and put an end to gossip and slander. Once she explained publicly that the reason for this gossip was envy, and spoke the following verses:

"How many Iskenders the dew of my ruby-mouth
Has led to the fountain and sent them away thirsting!"

(The name of the hero of this adventure was Iskender, or "Alexander.")

Mihri passed almost all her life in Amasia (it seems that once she visited Constantinople) and died there at the beginning of the sixteenth century, about sixty years old. She was buried, as we know from Turkish authorities, in the *turbeh* of her ancestor Pir Ilias, mentioned above, and her tomb lies at the feet of that of Pir Ilias already mentioned.[5]

The complete works of Mihri Khatun have never been published and the manuscripts of them are extremely rare. One copy which has been thought to be unique belonged to a private collection in Petrograd, Russia.[6] Accidentally, I succeeded in finding the second complete manuscript of the poems of Mihri, but I shall discuss that elsewhere. At the present time I can say only that the copy of the first manuscript and the photographs of the second are now in my possession and I hope some day to publish the works of Mihri Khatun. They will merit it because of their high quality.

New York City. N. MARTINOVITCH.

5 The European literature concerning Mihri is considerable: E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, vol. II, pp. 123-135; J. Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, B.I, SS. 306-309; T. Chabert, Latifi oder Biographische Nachrichten, SS.285-287; E. Servan de Sugny, La Muse Ottomane, pp. xiv, 43-49, 360; Basmadjian, Essai sur l'histoire de la litterature Ottomane, p. 38; Dora d'Istria, La poesie des Ottomans, pp. 158-160. In Russian: V. D. Smirnov, Outline of the history of Turkish literature, pp. 478-481 (vol. iv of the Gen. Hist. of Lit. by Korsch); A. 'E. Krymsky, History of Turkey and its literature, pp. 59-69. Almost all Oriental biographers and anthologists and some historians also mention her, for instance: Ahdi, Hasan Chelebi, Sehi Bey, Ali Chelebi, Latifi, Ashiq Chelebi, Evliya and some modern Turkish authors.

6 V. D. Smirnov. (Obituary note), by N. K. Dmitrijev, JRAS, 1928, p. 409; and E. J. W. Gibb, II, 132.

MEDICAL MISSIONS

What are some distinctive values of medical missions for Moslem work? In what special way does the presence of a medical missionary enhance or supplement or fulfil the work in Moslem areas?

My thought almost necessarily goes back to first impressions, which are childhood impressions in a Moslem land—Turkey. (At least it was thoroughly and fiercely Moslem in those days.) My father, Dr. W. S. Dodd, was one of the early medical men in the Christian enterprise in that country. We children lived next to the hospital and dispensary. We lived in the atmosphere. We saw patients come afoot, donkey-back, in litters atop of camels, and on rumbling, squealing ox-carts and occasionally in carriages,—a few hours' or several days' distance. We hobnobbed with these patients and their friends. I was almost going to say that we hobnobbed with the camels and donkeys! Anyway it was an intimate, undisguised and unphilosophized contact which we had.

It is significant that my father, with both theological and medical training and starting with no preponderant leaning either way, very quickly found the compulsion of the situation leading absorbingly into the ministry of healing.

The most common reaction I can remember about my father was the praise and blessing of grateful people, and their unlimited faith and their loyalty. We often cite the small donkey boy, whose eyes Father had cured of some ailment, who presently returned leading his blind donkey —his means of livelihood. Would the *Hakim Basha* (chief doctor) cure the donkey also? Unfortunately the

donkey had some entirely hopeless blindness; and the *Hakim Basha* had to disappoint the eager lad.

In the dread days of the Armenian massacres there was a Turk, who was convalescing from some successful operation. (Father always said that the Turks, rather than the other races, were his most appreciative patients.) When the Turk heard that there was likely to be an attack on the missionaries, including the *Hakim Basha,* by his own people, he called for his gun and posted himself in the window, which commanded the approach, swearing by all that was true and holy to a good Mohammedan that he would deal with the rascals before they touched a hair of my father's head.

Such tales may sound to people now in Turkey like legends from another age. But there they are. They represented *something*—something very human touched by something very fine. In spite of all the change, in spite of all the overlaying of sophistication or nationalism or what not since then, is there not an intrinsic element in these old childhood pictures, which has validity for all times and places? I will not try to dissect them or analyze them, but would simply leave them for what they signify.

The fact that some of these values of twenty and thirty and forty years ago have lasted is amply evidenced by the response when my brother, Dr. Wilson Dodd, went back to reopen my father's old dispensary and hospital. The name Dodd was enough to bring patients flocking, after an interval of some eighteen years, during which time the new Turkey, with all its changing of the face of life, had come into being. The mere name *"Tat-oghloo"* (son-of-Dodd) has been an open sesame and an inspiration.

Leaving the picture, and trying to think over the philosophy of Christian medical work among Moslems, as I often do, there are a good many observations, experiences and conclusions, which stand out, as to the distinctive values and contributions.

Integrity comes first of all—just plain telling the

truth. How often have medical missionaries been impressed by the way friends of patients have asked the doctor searchingly to tell them just what the situation was, and then shown every evidence of gratitude and confidence that the truth had been told. The bane of unethical Oriental (or Occidental) doctoring is partly the distortion of the real situation and partly the false promise of cure. Honesty (such a commonplace to us but not always to them) is one of the glories of the medical missionary's job. I believe that few things are a greater living witness than this integrity of word and deed, when people are peculiarly under stress and peculiarly impressionable.

Shall we say that plain truth-telling has any greater import for Moslems than for people of some other non-Christian tradition? I don't know. We do know, however, how ingrained is dissimulation and direct lying in authentic Islam.

I had an unusually illuminating experience, which I have cited repeatedly, one day in Northwestern Persia during the World War. We were distributing relief in the form of quilts to refugee Kurds, who were flocking in over the Turkish border in wretchedly destitute condition. The courtyard was filled with these forlorn women waiting for quilts. Before they could all be cared for, the quilts gave out. I had the unwelcome task of standing up before those ragged, shivering, half-starved folk and telling that I was very sorry but we had no more quilts, that we would have more presently and would care for them as soon as possible. It didn't register. Either habit, or the suspicion that I was holding something back, drove them into a clamor of importunate wild gesticulating; throwing themselves on the ground, they besought me to have mercy. Did I not see how wretched they were? Before Allah, Mohammed and Hazreti Abbas behold they were poor and *needed* quilts! Just then there came by a local Persian, who, though a stranger to me, knew us missionaries (as the distant Kurds did not), and,

sizing up the situation, stepped up beside me. "Be still," he shouted in the hubbub. "Why do you annoy the Sahib? He says he has no more quilts. Therefore it is so. When these people speak, they speak the truth. *They are not like us!*" A Moslem speaking to fellow Moslems. They accepted his testimony and subsided.

Then there is also the exemplification of what the Koran and the traditions teach, but which Islam honors more in the breach than in the observance. I mean kindness and the care of the suffering and needy,—"Alms," as the orthodox Moslem expression is ordinarily rendered. How many hospitals have been established by untouched Mohammedan Society? How much free work for the poor do Moslem doctors do? How much provision for the sick and needy is there in a wholly Moslem community? I fear not much. As outside comparisons and stimuli come in, and internal pride and latent idealism and self-interest are aroused, we are seeing a gradual change. But we have to differentiate the source and the incentive.

Again I am reminded of a rather shop-worn illustration of some years back, which is still valid, and which could be reproduced in its essentials by scores of hospitals in the Near East and India. A young Persian Moslem collapsed in the dust outside our hospital gate at Tabriz. He was brought in, bathed, put to bed and fed. The examination did not bring out anything organically of note. His story was of interest. A native of Tabriz, he had gone to Baku, in the Caucasus, and set up a shop, which prospered till the Red Army came through on its original rampage. Then all went by the board. Looted and turned out into the street, and finally about to be impressed into the Red Army, he escaped and legged it back to Persia by hill and dale, avoiding human habitations. He arrived in the Tabriz bazaar exhausted, and lay around there for a day and a night. Finally some one happened to notice him and advised him to go out to the American hospital. He got out to us in the outskirts

somehow and collapsed again. He recovered rapidly with rest and food, and left us a most grateful friend. How could he help making comparisons between his treatment by his fellow citizens and co-religionists on the one hand, and the foreign Christian hospital on the other! Isn't it likely that he told people about it all! Isn't it a fair chance that it made a dent somewhere!

The Moslems need verbal teaching and explanation. They also sorely need the embodiment and demonstration. There is so much *saying* without *doing* in their own background. The love of Christ can shine in a Mission hospital through the ordinary daily dealings with most winsome power.

If any people feel that these long-standing and accepted values do not seem sufficiently sharpened to the present mood, especially in view of the loosening grip of Islam and the changed thinking of the younger generation, I would suggest another element. It is axiomatic in the eastern countries, as they emerge from the old to the new, that science is increasingly exalted—too much exalted. It is made the touchstone of life evaluations, instead of a describer and partial explainer of life processes. As has been remarked elsewhere, the Christian doctor fits into the picture at this juncture. Respected as a member of a scientific profession, recognized as one who understands the emancipating influence of science over superstition and stagnant tradition, recognized also as one who rejoices in the triumphs and hopes of the scientific approach, he also bridges the supposed gulf to a life of faith. He can be scientific and yet believing, master a scientific technique and still pray, control material and tangible scientific factors in life, and yet have his center of gravity in the unseen. He shows that one need not give up Allah in order to be modern. If he is the right sort, his daily life is more potent than any sermon on this thesis.

It seems to me that this contribution is going to be an increasingly important one for medical missionaries. As

the Near East catches up, as it becomes more modern, more critical, more sceptical, it needs increasingly spiritual interpretations from scientifically trained friends. Medicine is an honored and established branch of learning in the Moslem East. As its scientific basis is better understood, and, as scientifically trained medical missionaries continue their spiritually founded human ministration, they are special emissaries for the period of transition to a growingly scientific world.

Medical Missions also help to awaken the dynamic which is replacing the static in Moslem thinking by rearing up leaders who are competent in a modern world. In a recent trip to the Near East, especially in my old homes of Turkey and Persia, I was impressed with the changing psychology. Instead of a resigned shrug and "It's Persia. What can you expect!" there is a growing conviction that they can progress and bring to pass. The concise little Chinese pidgin-English expression comes to mind, *"Can do."* The Moslem areas are learning "can do," at the same time that they are losing interest in the Moslem heritage. There is of course danger in the dynamic change. "Whither Bound" is the great question all through the Orient. But change is necessary, desirable and inevitable. The passive attitude cannot persist forever. And it is so sterile that it ought not to persist.

The training of doctors, nurses, technicians and all sorts of assistants can be made a constructive part of a great movement.

This is of peculiar significance when applied to the training of women, which is so new a step in Moslem peoples. Last year at the Presbyterian Mission hospital in Tabriz, Persia, the first Moslem student nurse come for training. Previously our nurses had been drawn from the Christian races. It was quite a departure for a Moslem family to allow a daughter to come in this way. It is a beginning which will undoubtedly grow.

One of our graduate nurses, of the little Assyrian nation of Urumia, Persia, has specialized in maternity

work. She took a special course in England, and then went to Baghdad, where she is now working successfully as a community nurse among both Moslems and Christians. She is a real pioneer.

The splendid contribution which the American hospital in Istanbul, under Dr. Lorrin Sheppard, is making in the way of nurse training is widely recognized in Turkey.

Many other illustrations, with which I do not happen to be personally acquainted, could be cited.

Medical missions are bringing these Nationals a knowledge and a technique for significant life participation and, at the same time, giving it all a spiritual content. I covet for the oncoming medical professions in these countries men and women who are genuine and definite allies of the National Christian Churches, and who are also recognized as competents in an influential scientific field of knowledge and usefulness.

In these few points, out of many others, I am not claiming that the job is easy, or that the ideal is always attained. But I do claim a special opportunity and possibility, and enough results already to indicate that we have our feet on the ground.

New York City. E. M. Dodd.

IBN KHALDUN AND HIS PROLEGOMENA

As the six hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ibn Khaldun approaches, his fame is steadily increasing. The greatest of Arab historians, and one of the profoundest students of social phenomena, born in Tunis, May 27, 1332, was practically unknown in the western world until 1806 when De Sacy published a few fragments of his writings. Since his emergence from century-long obscurity, and especially after the appearance of De Slane's French translation of his Prolegomena to history in 1862–1868, historians, sociologists and philosophers have occupied themselves with his works. But while scholars are agreed in assigning to him a distinguished place among historical thinkers, and some have no hesitancy in accepting his own claim to be the discoverer of the true scope and nature of history, or at least regard him as the real founder of the science of sociology, the educated public has been slow in admitting that such titles bestowed on an Arabic writer could be otherwise than greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, the very suggestion that we shall have to go from Europe to Africa, and beyond Vico, Bodin, and Montesquieu to Ibn Khaldun for the origin of the modern conception of history and the beginnings of sociology is intriguing, and the interest in the great Tunisian is growing.

In 1930 two works appeared, one by the present writer entitled "Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist, and Philosopher" (New York, Columbia University Press) and the other by M. Kamil Ayad, "Die Geschichts-und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Khalduns" (Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Gotta'sche Buchhandlung). My own monograph has two purposes. In the first place, it seeks to give as

complete and accurate a list as is possible of all extant manuscripts, editions and translations. We need a critically adequate text. A comprehensive search should be made for new manuscripts; those known to exist should be photographed, collated and carefully examined. Some manuscripts have important additions made by the author himself, occasionally in his own handwriting. We also need a translation into English or some other western language, based upon a reliable text. In the second place, I have endeavored to present the historian, the sociologist, the philosopher of history, and the man in such a manner as to bring out his real significance. All of his works are discussed, and the dates of their composition indicated. Most attention has naturally been given to his Prolegomena, and an attempt has been made to estimate the value of his contributions to scientific thought. The story of the discovery of Ibn Khaldun serves as an introduction.

Dr. Ayad's work deals with the Prolegomena. It is a competent and trustworthy presentation of the leading thoughts of Ibn Khaldun on history and sociology. Coming from a scholar whose native tongue is Arabic and who is thoroughly at home in Arabic literature, and who has also had excellent training in historic method in the school of Professor Kurt Breysig, of Berlin, it sets forth lucidly, and in good German, the substance of Ibn Khaldun's doctrine. His occasional correction of De Slane's translation and his own rendering of numerous passages are such that one could wish for a version of the whole work from his hand. It is particularly gratifying to the reviewer to find some of his own views on mooted questions backed up by one "to the manor born." Of special value is the effort of Dr. Ayad to trace the growth among earlier Arabic historians and philosophers of some of those ideas that find their fullest expression in the Prolegomena. In the main these earlier foreshadowings only serve to enhance the impression of Ibn Khaldun's amazing originality. There are throughout careful references

both to the Arabic text and to De Slane's translation. A glossarium at the end gives precise definitions of some of the more important terms used by Ibn Khaldun, now and then with a peculiar meaning. It might well have been somewhat increased. The influence of Professor Breysig, who edits the series of Forschungen zur Geschichts-und Gesellschaftslehre in which Dr. Ayad's study appears, is strongly felt.

The two works here discussed were written independently and published about the same time. In some respects they supplement each other. In so far as they may help to spread in the English-speaking world and in Germany a more general acquaintance with this great thinker and to stimulate scholars to undertake the vast task that still remains to be done, they can scarcely fail to be of service. The important thing is not that the priority question be settled, or even that Ibn Khaldun's merits be recognized, but that the fertile suggestions of this extraordinary genius be given an ampler opportunity to affect men's thinking on a number of problems now in the foreground of scientific discussion.

Cornell University, N. Y. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

SOURCES OF THE KORAN

An article in a recent number of a Moslem mazagine[1] strongly condemns the late Rev. Dr. W. St.Clair Tisdall's *"Original Sources of the Qur'an"* and Rabbi Abraham Geiger's *"Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?"* The writer states that these authors contend "that much of the material of the Koran is derived from the traditional sources of the Jews, . . . and therefore the Koran stands charged with the lack of discrimination between fables and facts of Holy Writ." He further states, "I need hardly add that the Jewish Rabbi at least must know that though the idea of Targum had been in existence since the fourth century A. C., the Targum Onkelos and the Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel are undoubtedly the post-Koranic literature of the Jews. They belong to the eighth century A. C." In support of his statement he adds the following: " 'In fact,' says the learned writer of the article on Targum in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition), 'in regard to the source of the two Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, we must accept the conclusion of Bassfeund (M.G.W.J. XI) that they both derived their variants from a complete Targum Jerushalemi. But though the existence of an older Targum Jerushalemi cannot be denied, it cannot be of an early date, for many of the latest elements in the Fragmentary and pseudo-Jonathan Targums were undoubtedly derived from their common source. Moreover, the existence of a written Palestinian Targum at an early date is expressly excluded by the evidence at our disposal. In the middle of the second century A. C., Rabbi Simon ben Galliel forbade the translation of the

1 *The Islamic Review* (Woking, England), April, 1931. (pp. 124-128.)

Pentateuch in any language other than Greek; and this command was upheld by Rabbi Jonathan in the third century. Even in the time of later Amoram there is no mention of Palestinian Targum.' "

Any reader of the article in the Moslem journal who desires to know more on this subject than is given there, will naturally turn first to the article in the *Britannica* from which the above quotation is taken. Fortunately this encyclopædia is accessible to all in the public and school libraries of the world. When, however, the student reads the article on the "Targums" he wishes the article defending the supernaturalism of the Koran had not omitted an important word from the last quotation and indeed had finished the paragraph. The *Britannica* article says, "Even in the time of later Amoram there is no mention of a written Palestinian Targum, although the official Babylonian Targum is repeatedly referred to in the Babylonian Talmud, in the Midrashim and at times also by Palestinian Amoram."

Other statements of the author, J. F. Stenning, of Oxford, that interest the student are as follows: "We may reasonably infer that the mass of the people had adopted Aramaic at a considerably earlier period, probably as early as the second century B. C., and that the need of Aramaic translations of the sacred text made itself felt but little later." "There can be little doubt that the Targums existed for a long time in oral form." "There is no need to reject the tradition as to the existence of a written Targum on Job in the time of Gamaliel I (1st century A. D.)." "The official recognition of a written Targum and therefore the final fixing of its text, belongs to the post-Talmudic period, and is not to be placed earlier than the fifth century." "Yet it is impossible to hold that the Targum of Onkelos was the only representative of Targum tradition that existed among the Jews down to the seventh century A. D., the period to which the internal evidence compels us to assign the *Targum Jerushalemi* as used by the Fragmentary Targum and the

pseudo-Jonathan. We must rather assume that a tolerably fixed Targum tradition existed in Palestine from quite early times."

The student observes that there is no discussion in this article of the interrelation of the Koran and Jewish traditional literature and the only matter that has any bearing on the subject is the date of the Targums. On this matter he learns that the Targums had both oral and written forms and that there were written forms of the Targums earlier than the formation of the Koran, while other Targums are not earlier than the seventh century in their final forms and are possibly of a still later date.

The result of the study of the interdependence of the Koran and the Talmud is therefore inconclusive thus far. When however, the student turns to the same encyclopædia's article on the "Koran" he finds this statement, "The deviations from the Biblical narratives are very marked and can in most cases be traced to the legendary anecdotes of the Jewish Haggada and the Apocryphal Gospels." This sentence reflects Schwally's revision, in the 11th edition, of Nöldeke's article in the 9th: "These histories are chiefly about Scripture characters, especially those of the Old Testament. But the deviations from the Biblical narratives are very marked: many of the alterations are found in the legendary anecdotes of the Jewish Haggada and the New Testament apocrypha; but many more are due to misconceptions such as only a listener (not the reader of a book) could fall into." In all these editions the general statements are supported by definite instances of material borrowed from other literature.

The "Koran" article in the 11th and 9th editions discusses also the occurrence of foreign words in the Koran, a subject that will be mentioned again.

Turning now from the *Britannica* to the encyclopædias dealing especially with religions, the student notes that Goldziher in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* article on the "Koran" states the following conclusion: "The dependence of Mohammed upon his Jewish teachers or upon

what he heard of the Jewish Haggada and Jewish practices is now generally conceded." He then gives a historical bibliography of the study of the relations between the literatures of the religions. To this should be added: Sidersky, *"Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes."*

In the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* Margoliouth says in his article on "Muhammad," "Besides the canonical books, various uncanonical works contribute the matter of the Koran, which, in addition, refers to prophets not mentioned elsewhere." In the article on the "Qur'an" he devotes a long section to its sources. He says, "That the material of the Qur'an is in the main identical with that of 'the Former Leaves,' *i. e.,* the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, is admitted in the work itself." "Reproduction of matter or of phrases occurring in the OT, the NT, the Talmud, or the NT Apocrypha is found throughout the Qur'an, and this is at times sufficiently close to render the term 'quotation' not inappropriate." "Of matter that is not Biblical but is obtained from Christians, the story of the Seven Sleepers and probably that of Dhu 'l-Qarnain are examples." This same encyclopædia contains a full account of the legend of the Seven Sleepers, and mentions a text, half of which is contained in a codex of the British Museum, which belongs to the latter half of the sixth century.

As would be expected, the *Encyclopædia of Islam* deals in detail with the Koranic material found also in other literatures. The articles on Ādam, *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* (Companions of the Cave), Daūd, Hābīl, Ibrāhīm, Sulaiman and others, indicate the interdependence between the Koran and the non-canonical literatures of the Jews and the Christians.

All this information and more is quite generally available for those who desire to investigate the sources of the Koran. Serious students know that they are serving the highest religious duty when they acknowledge facts that can be verified. Whenever a previous belief or a doctrine

they have accepted conflicts with the facts they have learned, they then make their belief conform to the truth. Unfounded religious convictions bring discredit and defeat at the end upon both the believer and his religion.

Now, the occurrence of non-Scriptural elements in the Koran has some points of comparison with the occurrence of foreign words there. Upon this latter subject the Moslem doctors have disagreed among themselves. The Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī, in his *Kitāb al-Itqān fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Part I, Chap. 38, pp. 136 ff. of the Cairo, 1318 edition) discusses the controversy in some detail. He declares that the majority, among whom are the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, Ibn Jarīr, Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr and Ibn Fāris, claimed that there are no arabized words in it, because of the statement in the text "An Arabic Koran" (xii. 2). But al-Suyuti and others before him and since knew that foreign words from many different languages are present in the text, and they composed books giving the lists of these words. There is such a list in *al-Itqān*. Now, however strong Moslems al-Shāfi'ī and the others were, they would have saved themselves and others much unnecessary difficulty if they had accepted the facts about the existence of foreign words in the Koran and acknowledged their presence and made their belief conform to the truth.

Similarly, there is no question that it is the part of wisdom, and the path of true devotion, for earnest students to examine the subject of the original sources of the Koran, and accept the conclusion that agrees with the facts. The adjustment of belief to conform to known truth is real religious service.

Hartford, Conn. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

CHINESE-MOSLEM CHRONOLOGY

Moslem writers in China have made a curious mistake in their chronology when transmuting dates into Chinese periods, with the result that serious errors have been made in fixing the times of certain outstanding events, such as the birth of Mohammed, the year of the Hegira, and the first introduction of Islam into China.

The most famous Chinese-Moslem writer, Liu Chiai-lien, who wrote over two centuries ago, gives the year of Mohammed's birth as "Pin Yin" during the time of Chung Ta T'ung of the Liang dynasty, which would correspond to A. D. 546 or 547; and the Hegira as the nineteenth year of K'ai Hwang of the Sui dynasty, i. e., A. D. 599. These events are ante-dated twenty-three or twenty-four years, and other events are correspondingly mis-dated.

It should be noted, in passing, that the Chinese Cycle method of calculating a year does not quite coincide with the Western system of months, so a particular cyclical designation may cover parts of the two A. D. years; hence the hesitation in definitely fixing the A. D. year for a particular event.

The Moslems do not seem to have been much concerned about the chronological inaccuracy referred to, or to have attempted to explain or correct it. But others have endeavored to discover how the mistake has arisen. In my article on "The Mohammedans of China," which appeared in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1929, the matter is discussed, and a quotation from Mr. M. Broomhall is given, showing that between the Arab lunar year and the Chinese lunar-solar year, there is a difference of almost

exactly eleven days a year, or about three years in a century. The quotation continues: "M. Deveria has suggested that at some date, perhaps A. D. 1351, when the mosque at Canton was restored, the Chinese Moslems transmuted their Arabic chronology into Chinese, and being ignorant of the variations between the lunar and solar years of the two systems, simply counted back the Arab years since the Hegira as so many Chinese years, thus antedating by twenty-three to twenty-four years the date they had in mind."

This was an ingenious suggestion, and gave the clue to what I believe to be the real solution of the problem. Not being quite satisfied with the date of the restoration of a mosque as being the occasion of the transmuting of the chronology, I looked for a more probable reason, and found it in the historical record that in the second year of Hung Wu—the founder of the Ming dynasty—which was A. D. 1369, there was a Moslem Chief Astronomer, who, with a number of Mohammedan officials, was employed in rectifying the Chinese calendar, and at the same time they apparently essayed to co-relate the Moslem calendar with the Chinese. The year A. D. 1369 would be A. H. 770, and by counting back that number of Arab years without considering the variation between lunar and solar years, the period A. D. 599 was arrived at as the year of the Hegira, which, however, is twenty-three years before that event took place, in 622. The addition of three years per century to the shorter lunar years would bring the chronology to be about correct. There can be little doubt that it was in A. D. 1369 that the calculation was made, and as it was made in connection with the then Board of Astronomy, it is strange that there should have been this omission to take into account the variation in the length of the years.

The year A. D. 599 having been officially fixed as the time of the Hegira, Mohammedan writers appear to have accepted it without realizing the mistake, and Liu Chiai-lien simply counted back the years of Mohammed's age

at the time of the Hegira, and thus arrives at 546 or 547 as the year of the Prophet's birth, which is stated to be in the time of the Liang dynasty, while actually it was in 570, at the time of the Sui dynasty. Mohammed's death is given as occurring in A. D. 608 or 609, which was long before his removal to Medina, and his subsequent career.

It is strange that Liu Chiai-lien says that the sixtieth year of K'ang Hsi—in which he was writing his famous work—was A. H. 1123, equivalent to A. D. 1711, whereas it was actually 1721, an error of ten years. This is accounted for by Liu's omitting to make the correction of three years per century between the lunar and solar calculations, for the period of 352 years between 1369 and 1721.

We conclude, therefore, that the Moslem astronomers, and later the Chinese-Moslem historians, have, by their inaccuracy, confused chronology, and led to much misunderstanding. Some rectification has since taken place, and current Moslem publications bear the correct A. H. and A. D. years. But we know of no serious effort having been made to rectify the misleading of the past, and in the interests of historic accuracy, the earlier mistake should be publicly corrected, and the history of Mohammedanism in China revised accordingly.

Shanghai, China. ISAAC MASON.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE HANIF QUESTION

I have read with interest in the April, 1930 number of THE MOSLEM WORLD an article with regard to the question of the *Hanīfs*. This question raises a difficult problem in Mohammedan Religion and History and it will probably always remain in the domain of discussion. I beg your indulgence in adding a little further to that discussion. Western authors who seek to explain the rise of Islam and the remarkable success which it quickly attained in the world, suggest many explanations, among others that of Sprenger (Vol. I, pp. 133–134), which has aroused great interest in the intellectual world. According to Sprenger, Mohammed took advantage of the religious movements and awakenings that were going on in Arabia and manipulated them in his own favor. Goldziher, who has collected all the evidences together (Muhammedanische Studien, Vol. I. pp. 1–39), has shown the errors of Sprenger and the methods which he has followed; and has thus entirely destroyed all foundations for his theories.

On the contrary when one really studies the circumstances in which Arabia was with its literature and poetry prior to Islam one discovers that there was really no need for a new religion at Mecca. Travelers among the Arabic tribes who have found favorable opportunity to study them have discovered their very deep neglect of all religious matters.

The word "Hanīf" in its etymology and complete meaning has been fully studied by Margoliouth, JRAS, 1903, pp. 467–493; Lyall, JRAS, 1903, pp. 771–784; Wellhausen, Reste Arabischen Heidentum, sec. ed. p. 238; Grimm, Muhammed, Pt. I, p. 12.

The word "Hanīf" has been used in the Koran for describing the following people or ideals: first, the adherents of any pure and real religion (X.105; XXX.43; XXII.31; XCVIII.5; IV.123); second, for indicating natural religion itself (xxx,130); third, particularly as a description of Abraham who was an adherent of true religion (III.95; IV.79, 162; X.105; XVI.121–124); sometimes also it is used for people who are neither Jews nor Christians (II.136; III.66).

The use of this word in the Koran in these different meanings indicates clearly that in the mind of Mohammed himself there was no exact or clear conception of what the word meant. The explanation of this ambiguity undoubtedly lies in the fact that the word itself is not Arabic and was not clearly understood, and therefore was used loosely as a descriptive title without any clear meaning. Later on when Mohammedan experts in exegesis and interpretation felt the need for explaining this old word which is not Arabic at all they tried to deduce the most plausible meaning of the word having regard to the different uses in the Koran. Since the only personality mentioned in the Koran as possessing the attribute of being *Hanīf* is Abraham or those who have followed Abraham's religion this became the point of departure for later commentators and collectors of tradition. It is possible that in this word there is some dim recollection of a bygone group of men who separated themselves from pagan morals and customs, but who did not form a completely independent religious sect. These men who rejected pagan morals and customs were thus to some extent predecessors of Mohammed and were therefore considered *Hanīf* and adherents to the religion of Abraham. This purely imaginary connection once established, all other conclusions have logically resulted from it. Invented as the idea was for later commentators, the word came to stand for a religious sect which prophesied the coming of the great prophet who would bring about a revolution in the world. Although the men who are

described in tradition as *Hanīf* are semi-Christian (see Mahmud Esad, "History of Mohammedan Religion," Vol. I, p. 520, Istanbul), it is not possible to be certain that these people are properly so described, for if one studies closely the legends relating to each one of them, one finds only a very artificial connection between these people who are called *hanīfs* and that quality which merits their being given this title by Mohammedan commentators. The men to whom the collectors of tradition have given the name of *Hanīf* are the following: 1. Varaka bin Nevfel, (Prophet's wife, [Hadidje's] cousin); 2. Ubaydullah bin Djahsh; 3. Osman bin Harith; 4. Zeyd bin Amru.

Mohammedan collectors of tradition have been particularly occupied by Varaka bin Nevfel, since he is a relative of Mohammed through his wife. They claim that he was one of the first to recognize Mohammed as a true prophet, although more recent sources (Zubeyr bin Bekar, 256) indicate that Varaka bin Nevfel had already accepted Christianity and had deeply studied the sacred books of the Jews and the Christians (Aghani, Vol. 3, p. 14; also Mahmud Esad, "History of Mohammedan Religion," Vol. I, p. 525, Istanbul). Varaka bin Nevfel remained always in the Christian religion. Some of the *hadiths* are very significant with regard to this man. In one of them Mohammed forbids the cursing of Varaka's memory although he is not a Moslem (Aghani, Vol. III, pp. 14, 15; Kuteybe, p. 29).

Ubeydullah bin Djahsh was converted to Islam and emigrated with the other emigrants to Ethiopia. But finally as a result of his continual contact there with Christians he changed his religious beliefs and became a Christian. He died before the return of the emigrants to Arabia. According to Ibn Ishak's tradition Ubeydullah bin Djahsh after being converted to Christianity remarked to the other Moslems: "We have opened our eyes while you are still blinking your eyes and cannot see the light." (Hisham, pp. 143, 144; Khaldun, Vol. II;

Appendice, 41; Mahmud Esad, "History of Mohammedan Religion," Vol. I, p. 526.)

Osman who is mentioned among the *Hanīfs* is shown to us as a figure little suited to the title. The legends inform us with regard to Osman that he was converted to Christianity for the sake of his personal interest, that he worked against the interests of his country, that he was vulgar, ambitious and given to political intrigues. In the Koran the term *Hanīf* is never used in any sense of such ignominy, but is associated always with men of a high type such as Abraham, and consequently is a word used always to denote true virtue.

Zeyd bin Amru accepted neither the Christian nor the Hebrew religion, but at the same time he did not adhere strictly to the religion of his ancestors (Hisham, pp. 144–145, narrator of this *Hadith* is Hisham bin Arve, Bukhari, Vol. II, pp. 15–16; Mahmud Esad, "History of Mohammedan Religion," Vol. I, p. 527).

These four persons are the principal ones described as giving themselves to a search for supreme truth. There are other persons less important whom I do not feel it necessary for the purpose of this study to mention. Our necessarily short study clearly teaches that the term *Hanīf* given by tradition to these persons is neither appropriate nor accurate. They did not originally bear such a title nor did they ever give themselves in real search of Abraham's religion. In case we have to accept these people as historical persons we have to assume that this title was given to them later on. The connection between them and Mohammed and the term "Hanīf" was deliberately invented later and was used simply to define more clearly the term "Hanīf" and to exalt the honor of Mohammedanism. This term as used in the Koran seems to be simply the result of Mohammed's endeavors to indicate that his religion is based upon the immemorial past and that it has the authority of a religion as old as the world.

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CURRENT TOPICS

The Arabic Bible for the Blind

After five years' labor, the National Institute for the Blind has just completed the first edition of the Bible in Arabic Braille. The work has been carried out to the order of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who will distribute the Book to blind readers in Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa generally. The Arabic edition occupies thirty-two volumes, as compared with the seventy-four volumes of the National Institute's Bible in English Braille, but the size of the volumes is larger and about double their thickness. To obviate language and other difficulties, an English lady living in Jerusalem first transcribed in manuscript the whole Bible into Arabic Braille, and it was from her copy that the institute's staff worked on the metal plates from which the book sheets were printed.

Mohammed in the Turkish Press

The Editor of the weekly magazine *Ichihat* has begun to publish a series of articles on the Life of Mohammed. These articles are quoted *verbatim* from the Turkish translation (by the Editor himself) of Dozy's History of Islam, a book confiscated and forbidden by the old Régime in Turkey. The first article deals with the death of the prophet. The second article (July 1) deals with one of the most delicate events in the life of Mohammed. (It will be remembered that it was again Dr. Abdullah Cevdot Bey who had referred to the event of Bani Quraiza from the life of Mohammed in one of his articles in 1922, and had aroused the indignation of the Sultan and had been persecuted for it.) The present article deals with another unfortunate event in the life of Mohammed, but it is significant that the printing of such an article does not arouse any opposition at the present day. The article reads as follows:

"After the death of Khadijah, Mohammed married again and took Sauda as a wife. Besides, he had been engaged to Ayishah, a girl of only six or seven years of age, the daughter of his intimate friend, Abu Bekir. Three years later he married her in Medina. This was a strange marriage of a man of fifty with a child of ten years who still played with her toys. But this child had developed quickly, intellectually and physically. Ayishah won a surprising influence over her husband. Later Mohammed married again Hafsa, the daughter of his friend Omar. Again he married Zeynab, the widow of a Moslem killed at the battle of Badr; again he married Ummi Salma, the widow of a Moslem who died at the battle of Uhud. But Mohammed did not suffice with these five wives. One day he went to visit the home of Zaid who had been

his slave and whom he had adopted as his son. Zaid was not in his home, but his wife Zainab was at home. Zainab had a very light garment on, and urged Mohammed to enter her home. Mohammed saw Zainab and was very much attracted by her beauty. He cried, "O Merciful God, how well you know how to change the hearts of men!" He said this and went away. Zainab had understood the mind of Mohammed and how she had awakened a deep interest in him. She told this to her husband without any hesitation. Zaid went immediately to Mohammed and told him that he would be willing to divorce his wife if Mohammed desired to marry her. Mohammed declined this proposal, yet spoke in such a way that Zaid easily understood that Mohammed would desire to have him divorce his wife. Naturally Zaid did not want to keep a wife who was feeling so proud of her power of fascination over the Prophet. Zaid divorced her, but Mohammed did not dare to marry her immediately. Had he not had that intimate relationship with Zaid he could have married his wife without causing offense to the Arabs, but Zaid was his adopted son and the Arabs considered it illegal for a man to marry the wife of an adopted son. Mohammed did not hesitate very long however. One day when he was with Ayishah, he began to show symptoms of a trance. After a little while he came to himself and began to smile, and said that they should go to the home of Zainab, and tell her that Allah had given her as a wife to him. (Koran ch. 33.) Then he brought a revelation from Allah in which he was allowed to marry the wife of Zaid. If such a revelation had come in the earlier part of Mohammed's Prophetship it would have had a very bad influence even upon his own followers, because this revelation was simply the result of his own personal wish, but faith in him had become so strong and deep that his followers accepted this revelation to be as good and genuine as other revelations."

The Death of S. Khuda Buksh

Students of Islam in India know how much we are all indebted to the writings of Mr. Khuda Buksh. For a number of years he has advocated social reform for the Moslem community. A number of his books have been reviewed in our magazine and he himself contributed a notable article on "Modern Islam" some years ago. *The Statesman* of Calcutta, in announcing his death, August 12, 1931, said:

"By the death of Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, lawyer, scholar and teacher, Bengal has lost a man of distinction whose critical methods of expounding the history and culture of Islam were not pleasing to all of his faith. Indeed, he is said to have been treated so unsympathetically of late by his neighbors that he found it necessary to move to a more tolerant locality, where he had scarcely settled when he was attacked by the illness that ended on Sunday. Years at Oxford, and a wide acquaintance with European languages and the work of European scholars, had given him a bent for the critical reconstruction of Islam's history, as well as a conviction that it was the part of a good Mohammedan to spread, by translation and exposition, a knowledge of what scholars in other countries were thinking, nor in this did he confine himself to views and interpretations that he himself approved. The claims of Islamic culture had no doughtier champion, and he will be remembered with gratitude when ephemeral annoyance has disappeared. A scholar to the finger tips, in touch with scholars and critics everywhere, he was in the

University of Calcutta a stimulating teacher and champion of his own people, and his admirable library gave him an added distinction."

Islam Divided

The Moslem magazine *The Sunrise* laments the divisions of Islam in a recent editorial as follows:

"The numerical strength of the Hindu community is very great, its influence very vast, its resources unlimited and with all these things they are united in their demands; their aims and objects are identical. The Muslims, on the contrary, are very weak in numbers, their influence is hardly felt, their resources quite limited, and over and above all these misfortunes they are hopelessly disunited and divided, rent with internal discord and dissensions. They are divided into 'Nationalists,' 'Khilafatists,' 'Muslim Leaguers' and into those attached to the All-Muslim Parties Conference. The political aims of these organizations are antagonistic. The best endeavors of their leaders are directed towards undermining each other's influence and prestige. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is never reconciled with the Ali Brothers and the greatest desire of his heart is to see these two old and selfless workers go to the wall. D. Ansari takes pride in calling himself a Nationalist, first and last an Indian, ever ready to fling taunts and reproaches upon those who are anxious to see that with the progress of the country the individuality and the separate political existence of their own community is also recognized and preserved. The great Mr. Jinnah does not even recognize the existence of any political Muslim organization beyond the League of which he is the permanent President. The Ali Brothers have clung to the Khilafat Committee with the tenacity of a doting father long after it has ceased to exert any influence on the Muslim masses. Compare the unity of the Hindu with the disunity of the Muslim, the harmony of the 'infidel' with the want of harmony of the 'believer' and you will despair of the future of the Muslim community. The fate of their community is hanging in the balance and yet the Muslim leaders are as divided as ever. Jayakars, Kalkars, Moonjes and Malavias have joined hands with Nehrus, Patels and Gandhis. Shastris and Saprus are sparing no pains to impress upon the minds of the British and Indian Governments that without the participation of Gandhi the Conference will be useless. Hindus of all classes and creeds have sunk their political differences and have placed their destinies in the hands of Mr. Gandhi but the Muslim will not learn and benefit by what is going on around him."

Higher Criticism of the Qur'an

The Confiscated Commentary of Muhammad Abu Zaid

This interesting account is taken from *The Egyptian Gazette,* by permission of the author:

Readers who remember the story of the Robertson Smith controversy in Scotland in the late nineteenth century, and the excitement caused by that scholar's championship of the application of the principles of the Higher Criticism to the narratives of the Old Testament, will have followed with no little interest the storm of controversy that has

raged in recent weeks in the Arabic Press of Cairo, over a similar application of Higher Critical principles to the Qur'an, in the work of an Azhari trained Sheikh, Muhammad Abu Zaid of Damanhour, who for some years has enjoyed no little fame as a lecturer and mosque preacher.

Muhammad Abu Zaid in an interview in the *Ahram,* defending himself against the strictures of the Sheikh of the Azhar, states that for many years he has been discussing these views of his as to the interpretation of the Qur'an, and that the Sheikh of the Azhar has himself expressed his satisfaction at his championship of Islam, and in many quarters his new solutions of Qur'anic difficulties have met with welcome. Encouraged by this approval he ventured to publish in the month of Rajah (last December), with the well-known Publishing firm of Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, an edition of the Qur'an with his critical remarks upon the margin. Very soon after this volume appeared from the press the troubles started.

The fact that certain younger sheikhs of the Azhar were active in circulating the book was brought to the attention of the Sheikh of the Azhar, who thereupon examined the book for himself, and immediately took steps to punish the circulators thereof, and to persuade the Government to suppress the book itself. The two sheikhs concerned were sent to Assiut, it seems, and the book was confiscated by the police, so that copies of it are now practically unprocurable. At Damanhour certain enthusiasts indicted its author before the religious Courts of that district, seeking to have him declared an outcast from the Community of Islam, and to get a decision that as an unbeliever his marriage was invalid, and therefore his wife should separate from him. The sheikh carried the case to the Cairo Courts which upheld his marriage as valid and declared his position within Islam to be secure.

The attack then continued against him as a corrupter of youth, and as an enemy of Islam more dangerous than the missionaries, since he is alleged to be attacking Islam from within and raising doubts as to the validity of the orthodox interpretation of the Qur'an and the legal code derived therefrom, which is fundamental to the Islamic system. On these grounds it seems that a successful application was made for an injunction prohibiting Muhammad Abu Zaid from preaching and addressing meetings in mosques.

More recently the attacks in the Press have turned to the content of the book itself. For instance the *Ahram* has published detailed articles from Sheikh Rashid Rida, the Editor of *Al-Manar,* in criticism of its views. Sheikh Rashid Rida fulminates against the author as an Atheist and a preacher of Atheism, and then in the next column attacks him as a thief who has stolen his bright ideas from the pages of *Al-Manar,* which for some years has been publishing a Commentary based on the lectures of the late Muhammad Abdu. One might possibly venture to deduce from this a reason why *Al-Manar* itself has not been very popular in recent years.

The book itself is a small octavo volume of 492 pages, simply bound in maroon cloth. The inner upper portion of each page is taken up by a reproduction of a commonly used lithograph of the Qur'anic text, and on the outer and lower margins is printed the Commentary of the author. It is not an extensive Commentary. On some pages the margins are comparatively full, but others contain only a few words and

figures of reference, so that we Westerners would call it an annotated edition of the Qur'an rather than a Commentary thereon.

The author, Muhammad Abu Zaid, is a man a little past middle age. He was educated at the Azhar and in the religious schools in the usual orthodox Muslim curriculum, and has travelled somewhat widely in the Islamic East, but so far as one can gather he has had little or no contact with Western learning or books. He has had considerable experience in the discussion of religious questions, both as a lecturer and as Friday preacher in Mosques, and his book shows much evidence of his familiarity with the usual questions in dispute among the theologians of his faith. Some time since he wrote a book on the "Guidance of the Prophet" in which he sets forth the lessons of the Prophet's life for the conditions of the present day, in a manner that is orthodox enough for the most exigent, and he claims in his first letter to the *Ahram* in reply to his critics, that political rather than religious reasons were at the bottom of the plotting to have his book confiscated. One must confess, however, that this raising of the political line seems an attempt to draw a herring across the trail, for a perusal of the Introduction of his Commentary in itself reveals sufficient reasons why on religious grounds the orthodox community would desire its suppression.

The author, in an interview with representatives of the *Ahram* at Damanhour, states that from his early youth he has been a seeker for the truth, and that he has never been willing to accept anything except after enquiry and rational demonstration. In other words, he takes the rationalistic position. On these grounds he has been accustomed for years to suggest to friends and students certain expositions of passages of the Qur'an which had suggested themselves to him from a comparison of one part of the Qur'an with another, and the application of ordinary rational intelligence to the problem, but these expositions are frequently very different from those to be found in the orthodox Commentaries which are still studied and reverenced by the great mass of Muslim students. As, however, his explanations seemed to meet with the approbation of a growing number of those who heard them, he decided to incorporate them in a volume that would make possible a wider circulation of his ideas among those interested in such studies.

The result is the book before us. It is entitled *Guidance and Instruction in Interpreting the Qur'an by the Qur'an,* and really is what the title states. A great deal of his annotation consists in references to other passages of the Qur'an, which in his opinion will serve to throw light on the passage under discussion, though it must be said that the governing principle which guides him in his choice of such references is a desire to rationalize the Qur'an, to remove from it anything in the nature of the miraculous, and to interpret its legislative passages, not in the light of the times in which they were promulgated, but in that of the more developed and humane society in which we now live.

The author refers somewhat bitterly to the work of the old orthodox Commentators, pointing out very truly that they are usually so loaded with extraneous matter that one cannot see the wood for the trees. It may be remembered that it was an earlier Egyptian critic, as-Suyuti, who towards the close of his *Itqan,* the only really critical work on Qur'anic Introduction that has appeared in Islam, says with reference to Fakhr ad-Din ar-Razi's huge and still highly approved

Commentary,—"The Imam Fakhr ad-Din also wrote a Commentary called *The Great* in which you will find set forth everything except Commentary." As a rule these Commentaries are so occupied with questions of Jurisprudence and Scholastic Theology (*Fiqh* and *Kalam*), which were burning questions in their own day, that they frequently lose all sight of what might have been the original sense of a passage, and at times get so far into irrelevancy as to remind the Christian reader of certain expositions "typical, symbolic, esoteric and devotional" of the Song of Songs which is Solomon's.

Says the Sheikh,—"And Exegesis will never get free from this (i. e., preoccupation with questions of *Fiqh* and *Kalam*), for the Commentators simply copy from one another, and this copying has gone such lengths that on some points I have read fifty Commentaries, both printed and in manuscript, but I did not discover in any one of them anything that I had not read in the others, all drawn from some false Tradition or antiquated idea that could not possibly be the exposition of the Word of God." He then proceeds to set forth his own method of exegesis, viz., the expounding of the meaning of verses not from Tradition but from the language of the verse as illustrated by other similar verses, so that the Qur'an is its own interpreter, and there is no need to call in the assistance of any outside aid save our general understanding of the way God works in nature and in human society. In this way he says, the student will find that there is nothing to draw his attention away from the Qur'an itself, he will be forced to a fuller and more minute examination of the text and all that it teaches, and thus ascertain in the fullest measure all its guidance.

With much of this statement the Christian scholar feels very much in sympathy, but the orthodox sheikhs object that you cannot interpret the Qur'an from itself alone. The Traditions, which occupy so large a place in the orthodox Commentaries, are all, according to orthodox belief, derived from the immediate circle of the Prophet himself, his Companions, and the Faithful must accept them, as Sheikh Rashid Rida emphasizes, as authoritative, and it is not permissible for a Muslim of the present day to start *de novo* to work out what he thinks may be the meaning of this or that verse, and neglect all that has been handed down through the ages as the accepted interpretation. To this, Muhammad Abu Zaid replies that if the sheikhs will look into their numerous volumes of Commentaries large and small, they will find therein the greatest divergence of opinion as to innumerable questions of interpretation, some of the interpretations to be found there being of the most extraordinary nature, so that it is rather a strange thing to say that nowadays one has liberty only to choose among these various old theories, but not to suggest a newer and better theory from one's own examination of the matter.

His own interpretations are exceedingly interesting, though one can readily see how startling and reprehensible they must appear to the old type of Muslim savant. A few examples will illustrate this.

Surah xvii is entitled *Isra* (the Night Journey), and its opening verse reads,—"Praise be to Him who transported His servant by night from the sacred Temple to the more remote Temple whose precincts we have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs." This is always taken to refer to the famous *Mi'raj,* or Ascension of the Prophet, when

Gabriel came and mounted him upon a celestial steed named Buraq, and took him first to Jerusalem and then for a tour of the heavens. In fact at Jerusalem one is shown the stone on which is the imprint made by Buraq's hoof when he took off for the heavenly journey. Abu Zaid, however, notes that the verb *asra* is used in xx, 79 and xxvi, 52 of Moses going off from Egypt with the Children of Israel, and in xi, 83 and xv, 63 of Lot departing with his family from Sodom, so he says that *isra* is the technical word used for the departure of Prophets from among a wicked people who will not listen to their message, and thus in xvii, 1 it refers to the Hijra (flight) of Muhammad from Mecca, where the wicked would not hearken to him, so that the "more remote temple" (*al-masjid al-aqsa*) refers not to Jerusalem, but to the mosque of the city of Madina where he was received and obeyed.

Surah xxvii, 16 ff. tells us of the glories of Solomon, how he knew the speech of beasts and birds, and how one day as he marched along, surrounded by hosts of Jinn and men and birds, he reached the Valley of the Ants. "Said an ant,—'Oh you ants, enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his host crush you and you know it not.' Then he smiled amused at her words." Presently he reviews the birds but cannot find the *hudhud,* which however, anon arrives bringing him news of the Queen of Sheba. This story is based on material from the Talmud and from that exceedingly interesting Second Targum on Esther, but Abu Zaid gives it an entirely rationalistic explanation. The ants he takes to be a tribe of Arabs, so that the Banu Naml would be like the Banu Asad, Banu Kelb, Banu Tha'lab, Banu Dabba, and the numerous other animal names known among the Arab tribes. Jinn, he says means the first or chief of anything, so that the Jinn here would mean the leaders of the army, and as to Solomon knowing the language of birds, he says that anyone who tames and brings up a bird may be said to know its speech, and anyhow, *tair* need not necessarily mean *bird* but anything that moves swiftly.

In Surah 11,32, to take another example, is the story of how at the creation of Adam the angels were bidden to worship him, and did so, save Iblis, who refused because of his pride in his superior nature. This story is of Hebrew origin and was widely spread in the East in the early Christian centuries, Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopic versions of it having been preserved to us. Abu Zaid's explanation is that by "angels" is meant the principles of orderliness and the world of customary happening, and that the worshipping of Adam means that the world was made to work in an orderly routine for man's well being, an idea which he supports by a reference to lxvii. 15—"It is He who has made the earth level for you: traverse then its broad sides, and eat of what He hath provided." Iblis, who is our old friend *diabolus* in an Arabic dress, he says means anyone who magnifies himself above his right, and that the words *Shattan* and *Jan* must be understood in the same sense. In the next verse the words, "Dwell thou and thy wife in the garden," where the reference is to the Eden story, he says mean, "enjoy the marriage relationship in all joy and delight of life."

Early in Surah xviii we find an Arabic version of the famous hagiographical legend of the Seven Sleepers, the youths who, accompanied by their dog, fled to a cave in Mt. Anchilus outside Ephesus, to escape the horrors of the Decian persecution. There, like Rip Van Winkle, they

slept on and on, until in the reign of Theodosius II., 307 years later, a farmer accidentally opened the cave, and the youths awoke, thinking that they had slept but one night. As popularized in the Syriac Homilies of Jacob of Sarug, the story had wide circulation in the Near East and has come down to us in many languages. Abu Zaid as usual, rationalizes the Qur'anic story. The words "then We struck upon their ears in the cave for many a year," do not, he says, refer to their long sleep, but to the fact that hiding in the cave, they were cut off from news of their fellows. The fact that v. 16 refers to the sun passing their cave on the right when it rose, shows, he says, that the cave was not sealed but properly inhabitable, and the dog, he asserts, was both for a watch-dog, and to help them in the hunting whereby they kept themselves in food.

Similar examples could be multiplied, but they suffice to show both the method and the mentality of the writer. In many cases if not most, his novel expositions are suggested by an obvious desire of removing any trace of the supernatural in the accounts of the Prophets, and this is perhaps the deepest ground of objection and dissatisfaction with the book expressed in the correspondence in the Arabic Press. In other cases his suggestions are dictated by a desire to explain away things that to the modern mind are somewhat crude or maybe indelicate. In line with this latter are his explanations of certain legislative enactments of the Qur'an. The one that seems to have attracted most attention is his note on Sura v. 42 which reads,—"as for the male thief and the female thief, cut off their hands as a recompense for what they have acquired." This penalty of course, has been for long in desuetude, and Abu Zaid says that it never meant that a thief's hand should be cut off for a theft or two, but only if he became an incorrigible thief.

Such exegesis, of course, is entirely new in Islam. It is true, as Sheikh Rashid Rida observes, that the expositions of the late Muhammad Abdu were modernist in their tendency, and it does seem a fact that in many passages Muhammad Abu Zaid appears to be developing ideas that appeared in germ in Muhammad Abdu's Commentary as it has been appearing across the years in *al-Manar,* but Muhammad Abdu, while alive to the world of modern knowledge, and aware of many points that Western scholars had raised in regard to Qur'anic interpretation, and anxious to present an exegesis of the Qur'an that would be somewhat more in terms of present day thought, was yet very restrained in his modernism. After the distressing experience of wading through certain modern works of Qur'anic exegesis which seek to find Electricity, the Radio, Motor Cars, the Gramophone, Aeronautics, Vaccination and Microbiology all referred to in the Qur'an, it is rather refreshing to read the robust scepticism and rationalism of Abu Zaid, and from this point of view one experiences a certain feeling of regret that his book has had to be suppressed. In so far as it is indicative of a healthy spirit of investigation and the breaking of the shackles of a dead past, one should surely count it as all to the good. As an effort of serious exegesis, however, it must be confessed that these new suggestions are really far from reality, and we have still to await the coming of a scholar who will deal with the Qur'an as for two generations now Christian scholars have been dealing with the Bible, viz., taking it back into its original environment and basing its exegesis on sound principles of historical and literary criticism. ARTHUR JEFFREY.

Rio de Oro: A Closed Land

One of the least-known of Moslem areas is the Spanish Colony of Rio de Oro with its protectorate. Although the population is small it is practically all Mohammedan. A French traveler reports his attempt to penetrate this area; we quote from *The Geographical Journal:*

"One of the most inaccessible tracts in the whole of Africa at the present day is the country known as the Rio de Oro, south of the Wed Dra on the southern frontier of Morocco. It is inhabited by fanatical tribes and exposed to the raids of brigands, and so has remained impenetrable by European influence. Last year a young Frenchman, Michel Vieuchange, set himself the task of pushing south of the Dra to the mysterious town of Smara, built last century in the midst of the desert by the rebel Marabut Ma el Ainin. A short illustrated account of his experiences is given in *L'Illustration* for April 4, 1931. His resources were small, and he undertook the journey with the minimum of equipment, aided only by a small party of natives, the fidelity of some of whom was open to grave suspicion. For the first stage, in order to avert mistrust, he disguised himself as an Arab woman—there were two women also in the party—and so reached the frontier post of Tigilit, where he underwent wearisome delay, lying hid in a native room too low for him to stand up in, while his guide bargained for the necessary camels. On the first attempt the party had to take to flight after covering more than half the distance to Smara, but starting again by a new route, the traveller succeeded in reaching the town after a journey of extreme discomfort. The town itself was deserted, though native encampments were seen on the plain, and M. Vieuchange made a hurried inspection before starting back, taking various photographs of the mosque and other buildings. The return was as painful as the outward journey, and the traveller reached Tiznit in Southern Morocco completely worn out. He was taken by aeroplane to Mogador, where a fortnight later he died at the military hospital."

The Conversion of Mr. Philby to Islam

The Syrian World, New York, in a recent editorial makes the following comment regarding Mr. Philby's acceptance of Islam:

"This very fact of inalienable sympathy and consideration for Britain's safety in cardinal matters is, perhaps, what casts a shadow on Mr. Philby's full sincerity in embracing Islam and establishing his permanent residence at the port of Jeddah. It may be that he is wronged by such an assumption, for he is an outstanding Arabist and, undeniably, a great admirer of, and believer in, King Ibn Sa'ud. But there exists a strong doubt among a certain group of Moslems as to his honesty of purpose not merely in embracing Islam, but in choosing the strict, puritanical sect of the Wahhabis. They seem to treat lightly his assertion that the Wahhabi movement will prove as beneficial to the regeneration of Arabia as Cromwell's era was for Britain.

"In this connection it may be noted that the Arabic press quotes Mr. Philby as having stated among his reasons for turning Wahhabi that he is striving to establish enduring mutual friendly relations between England and Arabia. Why, they ask, if his motives are purely altruistic, could he not wish that Allah lead his (Mr. Philby's) people to join the

Wahhabi religion, as he himself has been inspired to do, instead of forever keeping an eye on politics and acting under reservations with apparent ulterior motives?"

A Modern Interpretation of the Feast of Sacrifice

In *The Light,* Lahore, April 24, 1931, we read a new interpretation of the great annual Moslem festival. We quote the first two and the last two paragraphs:

"Just now we were having a rather heated discussion on the institution of animal sacrifice. It looks so very foolish, on the face of it, to take a knife one fine morning in our hands, each one of the millions of Mussalmans the world over and convert ourselves into a nation of butchers. And it is supposed to get us a place in the good books of the Deity! The animal we have butchered is supposed to thank us by giving us a lift across the narrow bridge over the bottomless pit that leads to Paradise. Superstitious ideas all these, a relic of the days of barbarism. As a day of national festivity when even the poorest of us may have a hearty meat meal, the institution is quite understandable and even useful. But to encircle it with a halo of religion calculated to please God Almighty is a very poor compliment to the intelligence of the Mussalmans.

"Such was the talk that went round. And we have no hesitation in saying that the institution as it is in vogue at the present day has no higher significance than a mere day of national festivity. It has but one meaning to an average Mussalman—the prospect of a good dish of roast meat. Everybody is on the lookout for a fat goat or sheep that would afford him the best of eating. That is his sole concern about the whole thing. And on the Eid day when he is up, he once more feels the ribs of the victim to make sure of the dish-value of it, his mouth watering all the while in anticipation of the *kofta* and *kabab.* Impatiently he goes through the Eid prayers, caring not a hang about the Arabic drone that an unlettered *mulla* inflicts on him. His sole preoccupation is that he is having a gala day and all he need worry about is to eat, drink and be merry.

"The sacrifice meant, not that Ismael should be killed but that his life should be devoted to the service of humanity, that he must go to the wilderness of Arabia and work in that barren inhospitable land for the uplift of the people there. This mission of voluntary exile in the path of humanity, the great Patriarch and his worthy son, Ismael, readily undertook. Ismael, spurning at the ease and comfort of life under the affectionate care of his father, took to a life of hardship, dangers and difficulties in the cause of humanity—the spirit of self-sacrifice which ultimately blossomed in the world-wide civilization which Islam gave to mankind.

"Herein lies the meaning and the message of the knife that each one of us would in a couple of days be laying at the throat of an animal. It is a call and a challenge in letters of blood. Dare you shirk the obvious duty of putting the knife at your own personal considerations in the cause of humanity? You commemorate the magnificent self-sacrifice of Ismael. Does not the cause of humanity call just the same for some Ismael or other who would offer themselves as a sacrifice at its altar?"

Proposal for the Study of the Peoples and Languages of Turkey and Central Asia

A correspondent sends us the following plea which we heartily endorse:

"Oriental studies in the American colleges are well developed enough. The sources on Arabic are given in ten universities, on Persian in three, on Chinese in three, and on Japanese in two. The Ancient World, including Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Assyrian, Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Avestian and Pahlavi, is studied in fourteen universities.

But the enormous world of the Turks and Mongols is completely forgotten. The geographic frontiers of this world are Siberia from the river of Lena, Mongolia, Central Asia, Eastern and Southern European Russia, Transcaucasia, Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. Linguistically, this population is divided into more than forty languages and dialects of the Turco-Mongolian root. Historically we know this world since the second century B. C., and how many great Turkish and Mongolian Empires were created in Central Asia and Asia Minor. The archæological expeditions within the last thirty years discovered that the artistic value of this world was extremely high.

Turcology and Central Asiatic History have been well studied in all the European countries since the beginning of the last century. In many countries there are special Oriental schools with professorships of Turcology.

In this country a Turkish lectureship was temporarily established only once and does not exist any more; a course of the history of Central Asia was given in one university only in 1927–29. The importance of Turcology and Central Asiatic studies is evident from the point of view of their academic value for the American University programs. American commercial interests in Turkey, Eastern Russia, Siberia, and Mongolia are also great. Besides this, the Christian Church has many schools and missions in the Turco-Mongolian world, but there is no one place to prepare the staff for these missionary and educational institutions.

For all these reasons the organization of the chairs of these disciplines in any American university is well-timed. The official title of these professorships could be "Department of Central Asiatic Studies." The full program may be as follows: History of Central Asia; History of Turkish peoples; History of Mongols; History of Turkey; Turkish and Mongolian languages; Ottoman language; Turkish literature and folk-lore; Mongolian literature and folk-lore; Ottoman literature; Turkish art; Central Asiatic art." **N. M.**

Port Sudan

The following item from *The Student Movement,* London, calls attention both to the hardship and the heroism of Missions to seamen in the Red Sea:

"You may not find it marked on the map but there is on the Red Sea one of the most modern seaports in the world. The name of it is Port Sudan. It has a fine anchorage capable of accommodating the biggest ships afloat. The quays are electrically lighted and equipped with

electric cranes. Railways run alongside the ships. There is a coaling quay over 900 feet in length, from which electric transporters can put coal aboard ship at the rate of a ton a minute. The Admiralty and the Shell Oil Company have stocks of Diesel and fuel oil amounting to many thousands of tons in the port. Oil-burning ships can be re-fuelled at the rate of 250 tons an hour. A petrol tin factory can turn out a million and a half four-gallon petrol tins a year. Vessels belonging to twenty-two steamship lines call regularly. There is a hospital, a hotel and two Clubs. The place is the last word in modernity.

"Here is what a ship's fireman wrote the other day about what it feels like aboard a ship in Port Sudan:—

> 'The temperature below is about 130 degrees, and every bit of metal burns and blisters if it comes in contact with bare flesh. It is impossible to touch a shovel or a "slice" without protecting the hands with wads of cotton waste or similar non-conductors.
>
> The very atmosphere shimmers with the incredible heat, and the exertion in it of breaking clinker off the firebars with a "slice" while standing close up to the roaring, white-hot mass of the furnace leaves the strongest absolutely exhausted.
>
> I have staggered from the fire-door after such an operation to the ventilator shaft, feeling so absolutely beaten that I have wondered if I could possibly recover sufficiently in a few minutes, under its life-giving draught, to summon enough energy to return to the furnace and fling several hundredweights of coal into its hungry jaws.'

"A couple of years ago, as the result of a conference between the Sudan Government, the Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan and the Missions to Seamen, the Society sent out the first seamen's chaplain to Port Sudan. The Government built a Chaplaincy and Institute, which were handed over to the Mission."

Dante's Divine Comedy in Arabic

When Carlyle lectured on the Hero as Poet, he retracted from the lavish praise given to Mohammed in his earlier lecture on the Hero as a Prophet: "It is a questionable step for me here and now to say, as I have done, that Mahomet was a true Speaker at all, and not rather an ambitious charlatan, perversity and simulacrum; no Speaker, but a Babbler! Even in Arabia, as I compute, Mahomet will have exhausted himself and become obsolete, while this Shakespeare, this Dante may still be young." We were reminded of these lines by a book-review, in *Oriente Moderno* (Rome), of an Arabic translation of Dante's great work. Our readers will be interested to learn that it was published at Tripoli by the School of Arts and Crafts. "Abbud Abi-Rascid Bey: La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighiere, versione in prosa araba: Inferno. (Frontispizio arabo: ar-Rihlah ad-Danitiyyah fi al-mamalik al-ilahiyyah wa hiya ta'rib 'La Divina Kumidya' li 'sh-sha'ir al-itali Danti Alighyiri bi-Qalam 'Abbud Bak Abi Rashid."

BOOK REVIEWS

Amulets and Superstitions: The original texts with translations and descriptions of a long series of Egyptian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Hebrew, Christian, Gnostic and Muslim Amulets and Talismans and Magical Figures, with chapters on the Evil Eye, the Origin of the Amulet, the Pentagon, the Swâstika, the Cross (Pagan and Christian), the Properties of Stones, Rings, Divination, Numbers, the Kabbâlâh, Ancient Astrology, etc. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt.—London and New York. pp. 543. $12.

This sumptuous volume is undoubtedly the most important work on the subject since W. M. Flinders Petrie wrote his "Egyptian Amulets." The origin of a superstition which is world-wide apparently goes back to Babylonia and Egypt. In his preface the learned author sets forth the character of the work: "In this volume I have described the principal amulets which were used by the Semitic peoples of Western Asia, Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia, beginning with those of the third millennium B. C., from Sumer and Elam. I have given many illustrations of them, reproduced photographically from the collections in the British Museum, and from those which are in the hands of private collectors, including my own. The description of the actual amulet is a comparatively simple matter, for in most cases the object explains itself. But when we come to the inscriptions on amulets, which consist of symbols, sacred and divine names used as words of power, spells, etc., explanations of some length are necessary of the ideas and beliefs which they represent. Therefore I have added a series of short chapters in which I have tried to set forth the principal theories about the powers of 'working' amulets, and the meaning of the inscriptions and symbols inscribed on them, and to indicate the beliefs concerning them which were held by the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magicians, and by the later Kabbalists, Gnostics, both pagan and Christian, and astrologers. And I have incorporated in them many of the views of the astrologers, makers of horoscopes, casters of nativities, diviners, crystal-gazers, palmists and fortune-tellers with whom I came in contact in Egypt, the Sudan and Mesopotamia during my official Missions to those countries."

After an introductory chapter we have detailed and scholarly descriptions of Arabian and Persian amulets and Talismans. This chapter will specially interest all missionaries among Moslems as it affords a key to many obscure popular superstitions. Later chapters are of more interest to the archæologist but afford a proof of the persistence of forms of superstition from the earliest ages to the present day. The author describes Coptic, Egyptian, Ethiopian and Hebrew Amulets. There are special chapters on stones and their prophylactic qualities, on the Swâstika, the Cross, the Evil Eye, Astrology, the Ḳabbâlâh and

various forms of divination. In addition to twenty-two full page plates and 300 illustrations, all of which illuminate the text, an exhaustive index makes possible easy reference. Z.

Ibn-Rushd, Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, Arabic text, ed. Maurice Bouyges, S.J., Imprimerie Catholique, Beirūt, Syria. pp. xl+679.

This is volume III of the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum,* of which volume II, al-Ghazzāli's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* appeared in 1927, and volume I, al-Ghazzāli's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah,* is in preparation. The basis of this edition by Père Bouyges is the Constantinople MSS. collated with other MSS. and with the Egyptian printed texts. The editor also made use of the medieval Hebrew and Latin versions in establishing his text. In the footnotes he noted the variant readings, and at the end of the book he added indexes of proper names, titles of works cited, principal assertions, technical terms, etc. While a book with a French introduction, Arabic text running from left to right, Latin page headings and footnotes, Arabic numerals indicating footnotes, and Greek letters used to indicate the various MSS. does not present an exactly pleasing sight for the human eye, nor a facile object of reading for the mind, yet it must be admitted that this book meets all the requirements of modern critical scholarship and indicates hard and honest work on the part of the editor, covering a number of years. Ever since the dawn of the era of sound Oriental scholarship in the Arabic East in the latter part of the last century, the Jesuit fathers of Beirut, with their library, press and learned men, have been the pioneers and the leaders. The book under review may be cited in evidence, as it could not have been produced in this scholarly form by any one else in the contemporaneous Near East.

Princeton University. Philip K. Hitti.

Bible Characters in the Koran. By John Walker, M.A. Alexander Gardner Paisley, Ltd. London, 1931. pp. 136. 6/6 net.

We congratulate the author on this excellent study based in part upon some of his earlier articles in our Quarterly, and also on his article on *Sulaiman* in the Encyclopedia of Islam. The Bible characters are arranged alphabetically from Aaron to Zacharias, but it is unfortunate that there is no cross-reference index to the form of these names as found in the *Koran.*

In the preface the author points out that the purpose of his little book is "to present in an accessible form all the Biblical personages who are mentioned either directly or indirectly by Mohammed in his Koranic utterances. The Koran itself is such a medley of fantastic fiction and apocryphal allusions that it is interesting to separate the Biblical elements from the rest. . . . The great Arabian prophet, it must be remembered, never received our canonical scriptures. He had to depend on garbled accounts, on Talmudic legends and fantasies; on the reports of false gospels; on the figments of Jewish and Christian proselytes; and on any oral information that might be given to him by the members of his household or the companions of his travels."

Apparently Mr. Walker was not acquainted with the earlier work of the Reverend Ahmed Shah entitled "The Biblical Characters, and other Sages of the Quran" (published at Cawnpore in 1905) which

covers exactly the same ground and gives some very interesting notes on the various characters from Moslem tradition. In that work the historical order is followed, which in some respects is the preferable method. It is now out of print, we believe.

Mr. Walker's translation of the Koran text is original and therefore sometimes unusual, e. g., Chapter 2:61, "Scouted Apes." The identification of some of the Koran references with Biblical characters is, in cases, fanciful or conjectural. We doubt whether Ebed Melech of Jeremiah is referred to in Surah 2:261, or whether the Table sent down from heaven in the Koran, with its fish, has any reference to the fish-emblem of early Christian symbolism. The same is true of the stories referred to on pages 38, 106, and 116. There is an unfortunate reference to the Gospel of Barnabas, page 59, as corroborating Mohammed's idea of the crucifixion. Mr. Walker is doubtless well aware that the Gospel of Barnabas is a late forgery.

Altogether, this is a useful compilation, well-arranged, and with excellent notes and comments. There is a short bibliography.

Z.

In the Arabian Desert. By Alois Musil, edited by Katharine McGiffert Wright. Horace Liveright. New York, 1930. pp. 339. Price $5.

This fascinating picture of the Arabs on the borderlands of civilization, by one of the boldest explorers of our day, is, in a sense, disappointing, for two reasons. Unavoidably and professedly it is a condensation of the popular material in the six-volume edition of Musil's "Explorations," issued by The American Geographical Society in 1926–1928. It is impossible to condense so much material into one volume without losing too much of the setting; in this case most of the ethnographic and geographical material is omitted, and we have only adventure and strange customs. A second disappointment is due to the original work which follows an impossible method of transliteration; e. g., *Eben* for *Ibn,* etc.

The journeys described in the present volume, and illustrated with excellent photographs and map, carry the reader from Damascus across the northern borders to the Euphrates, and southward toward the East of the Hejaz Railway nearly as far as Teyma. It would be invidious to compare this work with that of Doughty. The English style is not always perfect, nevertheless, to quote from the Geographical Review:

> "Among the explorers of northern Arabia, Alois Musil, now Professor of Oriental Studies at Charles University, Prague, holds a unique position, by reason of the extent, continuity, and thoroughness of his observations. . . . To arrive at a better understanding of the reports about this region that have come down from antiquity: to gain some insight into the origin and evolution of monotheism, a concept which, perhaps, is peculiarly characteristic of the thought of desert folk: to throw some light on the part that Arabia has played in the broader history of civilization: these were the general objectives sought, and they could be attained only through a minute study of the country and people."

For the minute study, one must go to the original work. Here we have an excellent miniature. Z.

Das Erbe der Antike im Orient und Okzident. By C. H. Becker. Quelle & Meyer. Leipzig, 1931. pp. 42. M. 1.80.

The author discusses the different manner in which the East and the West respectively appropriated the culture of antiquity. In the West there remained one language of culture, and under the influence of the Latin Church the ancient culture passed beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire. In the East, however, the language and religion were changed; here the inheritance from antiquity was Arabicized and transformed by Islam. He makes the important observation that Islam had the same conflict with Gnosticism as did Christianity, and that the Shiite sect with its Imams has a Gnostic origin. He makes some sweeping statements with which many will hardly agree: p. 17, "Der Islam ist eben nichts anderes als *weiterlebender,* auf die Dauer sich aber immer mehr *asiatisierender Hellenismus;*" pp. 22–23, "Das antike Erbe war im Orient immer nur Material, nur Stoff." In humanism he finds the difference in the development of the inheritance of antiquity in the Orient from that of the Occident. He maintains that the translations of the Greek philosophers into Arabic were made for practical reasons in the conflict with Gnosticism, but (on page 19) he minimizes the effects of the translation literature on Moslem culture. On the whole this is a very interesting and stimulating brochure. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Baha'ism: Its Origin, History, and Teachings. By William McElwee Miller, M.A., B.D. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. pp. 214. $2.

In the land of its birth this religion which has made so much stir elsewhere is steadily losing ground. There are probably less than eleven thousand Bahais in all Persia and their numbers are decreasing. Mr. Miller has done a valuable and scholarly service in giving us accurate and trustworthy information, all of which is carefully documented. He sketches the Islamic background of the system and then in brief chapters we have an account of the Bab, of his successor Subh-i-Azal, his rival Bahā'u'llāh, and the teachings of both. The subsequent history of Baha'ism under 'Abdu'l-Bahā and Shoghi Effendi, and the present extent and character of Baha'ism in Persia is admirably treated, and the book closes with a chapter entitled "Can a Christian Become a Bahai?" Instead of its being a new original message of universal peace, Mr. Miller shows the hollowness of its ethics, the deceitfulness of its propaganda and the futility of its world program. We regret that among the sources consulted by the author and given in his excellent bibliography, the important work by Dr. Hermann Roemer "Die Bābi-Behā'ī" (Potsdam, 1912) is not mentioned. Z.

The Holy Land Under Mandate. Fannie Fern Andrews. I, xiv+361; II, ix+436 pp.; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1931.

In this book we have the history of Palestine from ancient to modern times presented in attractive fashion with many personal touches; the résumé of the geography of the Holy Land is excellent. While the chapter on Judaism gives a useful sketch of that religion, the statement about the exile (I, 130) needs serious correction. The assertion (I,

150) that the monophysites maintain that Christ's nature was "wholly divine," shows how cautious one should be in making statements outside of one's particular field. Speaking of the *Hadith* (I, 188), Mrs. Andrews says: "While there is a wide variation in the historical value of the different stories, this mass of tradition may be somewhat compared to our Gospel narratives; both are read for their historical and literary value, and both furnish rules of conduct." Such a comparison is a distortion of the value of the Gospels but the chapters on Christianity and Islam are an interesting exposition from the traveller's point of view.

In discussing the affairs related to the British Mandate, the author is in her element, and here she is excellent. Her work presents a fair view and appreciation of the British officials in Palestine. All the issues relating to the Arabs and the Jews are presented as live questions. The events connected with the development of Zionism are clearly outlined, and the Jewish aspirations are set forth without bias. On the other hand, the Arab point of view is laid before the reader just as impartially. Mrs. Andrews has given us a storehouse of information, and in depicting the succession of events under the Mandate, she has let the facts speak for themselves. She always keeps herself in the background, and ventures no predictions about the future, but simply states that both communities, Jewish and Arab, must be able and willing to cooperate in working out some kind of a plan for self-government. She maintains, however, that these peoples are farther apart today than they have been at any time during the eleven years of the Mandate. There is no adequate criterion for presaging the form of independence which may ultimately develop from the Palestine Mandate. The student of religion may be especially interested in the two chapters on The Wailing Wall.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Arabian Peak and Desert. Travels in al-Yaman. By Ameen Rihani. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. 1930. 280 pp. 15s.

Arabia's forbidding sands, its stony wastes and its few oases are fairly well known, but Arabia Felix is still awaiting the modern scholarly interpretation that has been accorded other parts of this vast peninsula; and probably no people are so proud of their isolation and so impervious to new forces as are the Arabs of al-Yaman. What Ameen Rehani, a Syrian by birth and a naturalized American, can add to our knowledge of this area is told in this book. How far his acquaintance with Arab life, a philosophical turn of mind and a genius for Arab poetry qualifies him for the rôle of a Burton or a Niebuhr the reader must judge.

His journey from Aden northward to San'a and thence westward to the Red Sea was over a road traversed by many others, but, taken in 1922, it brings our knowledge of local places, potentates and politics down to a comparatively recent date. What was the real object of this dangerous journey is still unknown to us as we finish the final chapters, but he does make a real contribution to our understanding of the Arab character as moulded by the religion of Islam. The impression one gets of what may be expected of the development of an Arab civilization when left entirely to itself is perhaps the book's most valuable contribution. We must thank him also for his sketches of the Imam Yahya who next

to Ibn Sa'oud is the most powerful Arab ruler of today. The book is well illustrated from his own photographs and altogether is very readable. JAMES CANTINE.

Unveiled. By Selma Ekrem. Ives Washburn Co., New York. pp. 320; $3.

This volume gives an interesting, intimate autobiographical picture of Turkish home life. The descriptions are beautifully worded and the writer has the gift of making pen pictures that the reader vizualizes. She makes a brave fight against the traditions of the Turks, and finally wins, after the close of the War. M. L. R.

Ali the Caliph. By Muhammad Ali-al-Haj Salmin. Modi Power Printing Works, Bangalore, India. pp. 485, Rs. 5/.

This life of the fourth Caliph, Ali Ibn Abi Talib, is ambitious in its aim, devout and earnest in its tone, but very weak in style and full of extraordinary printer's blunders. It is marred by a lack of all critical judgment and substitutes eulogy for investigation.

Nevertheless, it is worthy of attention as setting forth the Shiah view of Ali as "an ideal man, an unparalleled Being and an Authority over the Holy Scriptures" i. e., the Koran. At the close there are selections from Ali's poems, sayings and proverbs, all in English. The book is profusely illustrated. Z.

The Mirror of Truth and Guide to Happiness. By Muharrem Nadji. The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Massachusetts. pp. 119. $1.25.

This book is of interest for three reasons. It is dedicated to the American Islamic Association; it is intended as propaganda for Islam in the United States, and it contains three hundred and three reputed sayings of Mohammed, gleaned from Tradition. The volume is evidently by one of the Ahmadiya sect. New converts can find every detail for ablution and prayer (pages 106–119). Z.

Archiv Orientální: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague. Edited by Bedrich Hrozny. Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob, Paris. pp. 214.

We are glad to call attention to this important Oriental review. The present issue has articles on the Kazan Tartar grammar, a complete list of the Persian manuscripts on history in the libraries of Stamboul and a most interesting contribution to the problem of the authenticity of the Diwan of as-Samau'al by T. Kowalski. Z.

Die Geschichte der Wissenschaften im Islam als Aufgabe der Modernen Islamwissenschaft. Ein Versuch, von Martin Plessner. Verlag Von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen. pp. 36. M. 1.50.

This pamphlet is of real importance to serious students of Islam. The author teaches Philology and Islamics at Frankfurt University. After paying tribute to Goldziher and Snouck Hurgrönje for their contributions to the history of the Sciences in Islam, he sketches the twofold division of the Sciences among Moslems; namely, those that relate to *Fiqh* and *Ilm*. Among the latter there are three to which Islam made

a unique contribution; namely, chronology, sociology, and the History of Religion. The outstanding names are Al Biruni, Al Shahristani, and Ibn Khaldun. In form, in the titles of books, and even in the treatment of the subject, Islam has confused Science and Literature from the outset. "Die islamische Wissenschaftsgeschichte ist in betrachtichem Umfang nichts anders als Literaturgeschichte." The bibliography of the subject is referred to in copious notes but the text is so compact that it makes difficult reading.

Agyptisches Bilderbuch. Eindrücke und Reflexionen, von Joseph Chambon. Im Fürche-Verlag G.m.b.H., Berlin. pp. 159. M. 5.40.

A fascinating book of reflections and observations made by a traveler who had sympathy with the Egyptian people and with Christian Missions. It is a picture book without pictures (except the frontispiece) with extraordinary insight into the problems of the Egyptian peasant and a deep appreciation of the difficult task of the German Mission at Assuan and beyond. Here is a pen-picture of Cairo: "Kairo: die erstgeborene Millionenstadt Afrikas, mit der Höhlenmystik ihrer Moscheen und ihrem kribbelnden Basar, der von tausend Duften durchwogt ist, mit dem halbtierischen Geschrei und wilden Zank ihrer ineinandergepferchten Einwohner, mit ihren unfehlbar korrekten englischen Schutzmannern an den Strapenecken, mit ihren neuen Autobussen und allerlei Schnickschnack und Firnis europaischer Zivilisation über echter alter islamitischer Unkultur." Z.

Der Islam in Ost-Afrika mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der muhammedanischen Geheimorden. By Dr. R. Reusch. Adolf Klein, Leipzig. pp. 360. R.M. 10.-.

The appearance of this latest work of Dr. Reusch, a missionary of the Leipzig mission in East-Africa is of the utmost importance for missions among the Mohammedans. It means an essential enrichment of our knowledge of Islâm generally speaking, not confining itself to Islâm in Africa. The author himself was prepared for his task by the most favorable circumstances. He spent his youth in the Caucasus amongst Mohammedans and later on studied Theology and Oriental languages at the university of Dorpat. On finishing his studies he went to East-Africa as a missionary for seven years, and extended his travels to the Sudan as far as Khartoum. With most excellent knowledge of Arabic, Dr. Reusch had free access to organizations closed to Europeans. In the Sudan he had access to the valuable researches of the British Government. He also had continuous interchange of views with the leaders of the Islamic movement in those places. So far no traces of Modernism and Secularism can be discovered. Islâm is expanding irresistibly. The chief burden of this propagandist activity is borne by the religious orders. The author was able to gather detailed information about more than fifty associations of these orders. We are given most interesting details about the manner of life they lead, about the Mahdi and about the returning pilgrims. In Khartoum alone Dr. Reusch saw not less than 17,000 in one camp! All these pilgrims are itinerant preachers and flood the country with their propaganda. Many people seem to expect that King Fuad of Egypt will one day be proclaimed caliph of

Islâm. We get full and quite new information about Islamic hagiolatry, the method of instruction given the leaders of their orders, the way they perform miracles and their immense influence over the people. Also the Shiites with their various sects and the Indian followers of Agha Khan find a place in this book. All missionaries who work in Africa and also all who take interest in the study of Islâm will do well not to pass by this most valuable work. SIMON.

The Crusades, Part II. The Flame of Islam. By Harold Lamb. Thornton Butterworth, London, 1931. pp. 413. 16 shillings.

In this volume we have the history of the period expressed with vivid imagination in a vigorous and popular style. The author has succeeded in presenting an account that is fascinating to the layman and to students of high school and college age. A bibliography of important works is appended. He cites, however, the Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh only in the French translation of Derenbourg (1895). On account of the importance of these memoirs he should have included the splendid and accurate translation of that Arabic work by Professor Hitti under the title of "An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades" (1929). HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The Organ of the Ancients. From Eastern Sources (Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic). By Henry George Farmer, M.A., Ph.D. William Reeves, Bookseller, London. pp. 184. 15/6.

In the last edition of the Encyclopædia Brittanica the early history of the organ is referred to, but the account given is supplemented and corrected in the present work. Important details on the history of the organ, hitherto unknown, are revealed in these translations from oriental works. The book is fully illustrated, has a valuable bibliography, and seems to be well documented. In the preface Francis W. Galpin, of the Worshipful Company of Musicians, says:

"I am sure that its readers will be most grateful for this new installment of Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic musical lore in so convenient and comprehensive a form. Many will not be able to test his conclusions by their own intimacy with the languages of which he is a ready master: others, after due consideration, may hesitate to endorse in their entirety the deductions and suggestions he has made; but certainly all cannot fail to appreciate his scholarly translations."

Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence. By H. G. Farmer; published by Wm. Reeves, Ltd. London. 12/6.

This important volume of studies in the music of the Middle Ages gives ample proof of Dr. Farmer's established name for painstaking and accurate scholarship. In establishing the "clues" for the Arabian Influence on Musical Theory this expert exponent gives us historical evidence that in pre-Islamic times the Arabs had an indigenous musical system reduced to theory—thus contravening any supposition that the Arabs under the Prophet had "borrowed" from the Greeks or Persians. After the conquest of Greece the Arabs translated and preserved much of the Greek music—theories and systems—and restored it to Medieval Europe. The chapters dealing with the solfeggio, notation, origin and the rise of organum are most interesting. The main treatise of the book

is followed by an appendix, longer than the subject matter, which deals at length in countering Miss Schlesinger's treatise on "the Greek Foundations of the Theory of Music," published subsequently to Dr. Farmer's monograph. To the student of Islam this volume is of interest in that it deals with a phase of Islamic culture hitherto unstudied in such a masterly scientific manner. ELIZABETH PICKENS.

The Frontier Peoples of India. A Missionary Survey, by Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London. pp. 202. 5/.

This is, perhaps, the most valuable of all the volumes issued in the Missionary Survey Series by the World Dominion Press. It is carefully prepared and well illustrated. The author was qualified for his task because he resided and traveled for twenty-five years in nearly every part of the area surveyed. Last winter he revisited nearly all the areas described in the volume. There are four excellent maps. The book itself consists of three parts: The Muslim Frontier, pp. 9–58; The Hindu-Buddhist Frontier, pp. 59–118; and the Buddhist-Hindu Frontier, namely, the region of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, pp. 119–163. It is more than a geographical survey; nearly every page is a challenge. In the Appendices, which number 17, we have considerable additional information including a list of Missionary Societies and statistics. But there is no reference to Roman Catholic Missions. Speaking of the Northwest Frontier, the author says:

"The problem here is that of presenting the Gospel to the restless Muslim tribesmen of these hills and valleys. The challenge of Islam is most acute in backward areas like these, and little has yet been done to interpret the message of Christ to the people. Although in recent years the Muslims of India have become much more conscious of their political and communal interests and much more active in the defence and propagation of their faith, yet there is a greater freedom of individual action and more enquiry regarding and response to the Christian Gospel than ever before.

"It has to be remembered that more than one-quarter of the Muslims of the world live in India, although they form only one-fifth of its population. While steadily increasing in numbers they are still educationally the most backward community in the country. In the present controversy between the Muslims and Hindus concerning communal political rights the former have shown more open-mindedness than the latter. Heredity and more healthy social customs tell strongly in their favor and the obstacles to be overcome before they can as individuals adopt the Christian faith produce a fine type of Christian character.

"Wherever Muslims are massed together, as in these frontier territories, illiteracy is great and forms a formidable obstacle to evangelism. The efforts of Christian missions to reach the Muslims have always been fitful and half-hearted. On the highest estimate only one-twentieth of the effective evangelistic force in India comes into contact with the Muslim community.

"Taking the difference in numbers into account, the effort to reach the Hindus is very much greater than the effort to reach the Muslims, although this disproportion is not quite so great as has been sometimes stated. There is one missionary, although mostly a part-time worker,

to every three hundred and ten thousand Muslims, as compared with one to every fifty-seven thousand Hindus. Furthermore, not more than one-tenth of the missionaries in touch with Muslims give their whole time to the work." Z.

Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia. By J. J. Cooksey and Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London. pp. 277. 5/- net.

The oft quoted words of David Livingstone: "The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise" apply to this and the other admirable surveys prepared by the World Dominion Press. Earlier volumes in the series have been criticized because of inaccuracies. This volume is of high character, both as regards its excellent maps, statistical tables, and careful arrangement of facts. In the foreword we have a list of names that inspires confidence in the reader.

This survey covers twenty colonies and gives one an impression of the rapid occupation and the stupendous changes that have taken place within a few decades. Railways, good roads, air routes, and better steamer connections are rapidly transforming the whole region. Its wealth of natural resources is being poured into the world markets. In contrast with this amazing development the story of missionary effort is set forth. Missions have labored under grave difficulties from the beginning. The death roll has been great, and the average period of life service short. Furloughs have to be frequent, and meanwhile a Christian Community of 300,000 has grown up. The story of the remarkable increase due to the Prophet Harris is told here.

The account of Liberia does not note the recent criticisms of that Government. The conclusions at the end of the Survey speak of waste and over-lapping, because of sectarian efforts. Z.

Les Arabes et l'Islam en face des Nouvelles Croisades et Palestine et Sionisme. By Eugene Jung. Chez l'auteur, 50 Avenue Malakoff, Paris. pp. 78. 8 fr.

We have given due notice in our Quarterly of the earlier books by M. Eugene Jung, all of which dealt with Islam and Nationalism. The present work is rather sensational, with political propaganda. One can have sympathy with his strong anti-Imperialistic views and his dread of Zionism as a factor in world politics, but missions in North Africa, instead of being a disturbing factor will help forward the economic, social and moral progress of the people. The cry of alarm given must not be taken too seriously.

"Notre Afrique du Nord est en danger. Notre beau renom en Orient est perdu. Le Sionisme et le Vatican entraînent le monde dans une guerre de races et de religion contre les Arabes et l'Islam. La France suit le mouvement! Qui contraindra ses dirigeants à s'arrêter dans cette voie funeste?" Z.

Le Communisme aux Indes Neerlandaises. By J. T. Petrus Blumberger. Aux Editions du Monde Nouveau, 42 Boulevard Raspail, Paris. pp. 190.

But for the fact that in the Dutch East Indies there is a Moslem population of nearly forty million, this book would not especially interest

our readers. It deals with Communism and its world-wide propaganda and is issued in a series called the Collection "Colonia." The work is well documented, carefully prepared, and gives a historical account of the efforts on the part of the Second and Third International in the Dutch East Indies from 1913 until now. Chapters 8 and 9 tell of the communist uprisings in Java and Sumatra in recent years and the subsequent deportation or internment of some thousands of Communists.

Z.

High Tartary. By Owen Lattimore. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass. pp. 370. $4.

The author spent his youth in China and after his education returned to become sub-editor of the Peking and Tientsin Times. He is the author of "The Desert Road to Turkestan" and has received recognition from the Royal Geographical Society for his travels and researches in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan. The journey described in this book was from Peking via Harbin and Lake Baikal to Chinese Turkestan, and from Kashgar South to Leh and Kashmir. A well written dramatic account of a journey along desert roads with plenty of adventure and hardship.

"The High Tartary through which my wife and I traveled in 1927 stretches from the Altai to the Pamirs. Within it lies the province of Hsin-chiang, including Zungaria, on the north, and Chinese Turkestan proper, on the south, of the Tien Shan or Heavenly Mountains. In one region or another are to be found peoples as diverse as the Mongols, T'ung-kan, Qazaqs, Qirghiz, and Turki, and their Chinese rulers, besides such minor communities as the Dulani and such visitors as Indian and Afghan traders, and the Ladakhi caravan men who come in from the Five Great Passes of the Karakoram route."

His description of Islam in Central Asia is, "that of timeless, enchanted stagnation, neither decaying nor progressing. Islam deletes most of what has gone before it, but two series of links continue to bind Inner Asia to the high days of its past: one, a reliquary chain of monuments; the other, an umbilical connection of living tradition, obscure though that tradition be. Search in the vicinity of what are now Mohammedan shrines or places of pilgrimage has never failed to show traces of older holy places and an older religion."

He speaks highly of Roman Catholic Missions, offers some friendly criticism of Protestant methods, and pays tribute to the gracious hospitality of Mr. Hunter and Mr. Ridley of the China Inland Mission.

Z.

George King, Medical Evangelist. By the Rev. Frank Houghton, B.A. Published by the China Inland Mission. Price 2 shillings.

A fascinating picture of the life of a medical missionary who never lost sight of his real call to evangelize. He visualized medical evangelists in all the large centers of Kansu Province. To fulfill this desire he gathered together and trained two classes of medical students in the Borden Memorial Hospital in Lanchowfu. The book is of particular interest to readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD because of the light it throws on the Moslem work done in Kansu, but more especially in Hochow, which was before its destruction by Mohammedan bandits in

1928, the Mecca of China. Dr. King's early death from drowning in the Yellow River in 1927 while refugeeing was a severe blow to the Christian work in Kansu. C. L. PICKENS.

The Clash of World Forces. By Basil Matthews. Abingdon Press, New York. pp. 160. 2s. net.

This book raises present-day questions of Nationalism, Bolshevism and Imperialism in their relation to the Kingdom of God. The writer knows how to handle great themes in a popular way. Very appropriately the preface to the book was written on the high seas and in a storm. In seven brief chapters we have word-pictures of men and nations, the new map of Europe, the world program of Bolshevism, India Today, closing with Jesus and Nationalism and the Clash of Values. There are no special references to Islam although we have a sketch of Mustapha Kemal and the young Turks.

Die Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Ausserchristlichen Mystik. By Gottfried Simon. C. Bertelsmann Gütersloh. pp. 110; 4 M.

The student of Islam will have large expectations from this volume and after perusal will not be disappointed. Dr. Gottfried Simon who was for eleven years a missionary in Sumatra has in this study made a real contribution to the thesis that Mysticism can never be a bridge by which men pass from other religions to Christianity, but that it, like Secularism, is a foe to be fought. He does not deny the real values in Mysticism from the standpoint of Hinduism and Islam, but desires to make a clear distinction between the goal and the method of this non-Christian Mysticism and the communion with God in Jesus Christ through prayer and obedience which was the method and the goal of the Christian mystics. The book falls into two parts, of which the first deals with the importance and character of non-Christian Mysticism. Dr. Simon finds evidences of Mysticism in the religious life of Primitives. Then he traces the philosophic development in India, the home of the mystic,—touches upon the Mysticism of Taoism in China, of Buddhism in Japan, and deals more fully (pp. 45 to 75) with the Sufis. The second part of the book draws conclusions and distinctions. It is one thing, he says, to experience God in the sense of the Sufi, and quite another to be partaker of God's grace in Christ. Absorption in God is not the same thing as obedience to God. Because we have lost sight of these distinctions, the preaching of the Word to Mystics has sometimes followed a wrong method. The Christian has fellowship but does not claim union with God. However near, God remains a distinct personality. The importance of the argument which is urged so ably is evident and one can express the wish that this study might become available in English form for all missionaries among Moslems. Z.

Religionsgeschichte Europas. By Carl Clemen. Carl Winters, Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1931. pp. 335. 10 Mks.

This is the second part of a condensed history of the religions of Europe. The first part dealt with the early religious history. This gives an account of Judaism, Christianity in its various forms, Islam and Lamaism. The last-named is still a living religion in parts of

European Russia. Pages 266 to 316 give the history of Islam in Spain, Italy, the Crimea and the Balkan Peninsula. Each chapter has a fairly complete bibliography. The account given of the Bektashi Derwish Order is worthy of note. Z.

Weapons that Win. The C. M. S. Story of the year 1930–1931.

This story, told by the Rev. C. F. E. Wigram (in the Punjab 1891–1914, in London 1915–29) throws vivid flashlights on the work of the gospel in the Near East. In the Northern Sudan we hear "not vaguely of evangelistic addresses, but of carefully thought-out courses of gospel teaching." While evangelism goes forward, the need of an Arabic-speaking priest is deeply felt. Among English-reading people in Umdurman the life of Sadhu Sundar Singh has made a deep impression. In Bulaq, instead of a special study class for the catechists, very regular attendance followed an invitation to all the men of the congregation to meet for discussion of St. Luke's Gospel, so that all alike might be ready to tell of the hope begotten in them. Accordingly the use of colloquial Egyptian Arabic for speaking and printing is being pressed. From Persia a collection of specimens from the Garden of Arts, i. e., the C. M. S. Industrial Mission Agency, went to the Persian Exhibition at Burlington in London and was much admired. As for Shiraz, the fourteen actual baptisms of the year included that of a robber and highwayman, won through the work of a wandering Persian evangelist, while Mr. Richards records growing opportunities among Jews, Bahais, and Moslems, and a steady attendance, fifty or sixty strong, at his weekly lectures. H. U. W. Stanton.

Die Evangelische Mission in Niederländisch Indien. By Professor D. Julius Richter. C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1931. pp. 163. M. 5.50.

In no other missionary field have missions amongst the Mohammedans been so much crowned with success as in the Dutch Indies. Friends of Missions amongst the Mohammedans, therefore, will no doubt welcome a missionary monograph on this field. Dr. Richter can claim the merit of having already made extraordinary and valuable researches on Islam in various countries in the existing volumes of his "Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte," especially in Volume II: "Mission und Evangelization im Orient," (1930) and in "Indischen Missionsgeschichte," (1924), and also in his voluminous work on "Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika," (1922), and in his book "Das Werden der Christlichen Kirche in China," (1927). However, in no other land do we hear of such enormous missionary achievements amongst the Mohammedans as in the Dutch Indies. Of the sixty million inhabitants of this archipelago at least forty-five million can be assumed to belong to the Mohammedan Faith, but of the one million of native evangelical Christians we may put down about forty-four thousand as converted from Islam to Christianity. To lay down exact numbers is impossible, as the missionary societies do not separate the numbers of converted Christians from heathendom from those of Islam. However, the larger of these native churches are of great importance for missions amongst the Mohammedans. The largest of these, e. g., the Batak Church in Sumatra with over 300,000 members, brought about by the Rhenish Missionary Society in Barmen, Germany, has succeeded in bringing the

strong movement among the heathen Batak towards Islam almost to a dead stop. The native Church there resists manfully and with remarkable success the advance of the numerous Mohammedan people of the country around, nay, even tries more and more by its scattered detachments of Christians, that can be found not only on the coasts of Sumatra, but also on different other islands of the archipelago, in the midst of a Mohammedan population, to form centres of Christian life, which perhaps one day may become important factors for offering the Gospel to the Mohammedan world. The same applies to the large Church of the Dutch in Minahasa on Celebes with a membership of 250,000 which, to be sure, are already incorporated into the Indian State church. But of quite a particular kind is the work amongst the Mohammedans in the island of Java. By far the great majority of the 54,000 Christians, gathered into large communities, consists of former Mohammedans. But also amongst the Christians in various other islands, we find now and again former Mohammedans who have become Christians. These great results of Dutch and German missionary societies in Dutch-India are the more gratifying, as the dispersal of the inhabitants of the archipelago in the main on very small islands and the great variety of languages and types of people, renders work very difficult. And yet, it must be said, that no other mission field has succeeded in gathering large Mohammedan churches. We are very much indebted to Dr. Richter for his unflagging efforts to gather all the scattered material and for giving us a coherent account of the varied history of the different smaller churches.

G. SIMON.

Islam in Armenian Literature: (a) Krikor Datewatzy against Moslems; (b) Collection from Kashoun. By His Grace Papken Guleserian, Catholicos in Syria. Mkhitarian Press, Vienna, 1930. pp. 240.

His Grace Papken Guleserian, the new Catholicos of the Armenians in Syria, has rendered a valuable service by this new book which contains the edition of two important manuscripts from mediæval Armenian literature regarding Islam. The book has an introductory part of about fifty pages, explaining the various manuscripts on the subject in the Armenian National Library at Constantinople and the Armenian Convent in Jerusalem. The rest is the text of the manuscripts.

The major part (pp. 50–186) contains the text of the treatise of Krikor Datewatzy against Moslems. This Armenian writer died in 1410 or 1411, and wrote his treatise in 1397, about seventy-six years before the occupation of western Armenia by the Turks in 1473. However, by that time the Armenians had come into contact with the Arabs, and perhaps with the Persians and Tatar Moslems too, and had been familiar with Islam.

The second part of the book (pp. 186–240) deals with the writing of Mkhitar Anetzy of the late 12th century, printed from a manuscript at the Armenian Convent of Jerusalem. The date of the manuscript is 1273 A. D. This essay of Anetzy had already been printed (1879) in St. Petersburg; but this manuscript is earlier and contains a good many variations in the text. Therefore, the two have been put side by side on opposite pages to facilitate their study.

The title of the manuscript is interesting. It reads: "Collected from Kashoun." The Editor thinks that Kashoun means nothing but Karshouni, namely, Arabic in Syriac characters. This makes the original

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document pretty old and interesting, especially in its statements regarding the beginnings of Islam, the birth of Mohammed, the origin of the *Ka'ba,* etc., and raises historical questions.

Catholicos Papken is among the most learned Doctors of the Armenian Church at the present time, and has written many valuable books and essays on the history of the Armenian Church. Surely all scholars of Islam are under obligation to him for this new book which is the result of careful study and long endeavor for many years.

L. Levonian.

Alarms and Excursions in Arabia. By Bertram Thomas, with a Preface by Sir Arnold T. Wilson. (Illustrated.) The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1931. $4.

The author's exploit in crossing by a major axis the hitherto unexplored southeast end of Arabia, no doubt, sheds lustre on his name but "Alarms and Excursions" has merits of its own which should make the book popular. To mention two: the scenes it depicts are true to life, for which the reviewer, who spent a third of a century in the same regions, vouches, and it is extremely well written. The title does not do justice to it. Alarms and journeys are only the pegs upon which are spun the narratives in which, line by line, emerges the life-size figure of the tribal Arab as he is in his own setting. It does not appear that Captain Thomas had any one theme in mind in writing but, consciously or unconsciously, he tells us what life is like in the free air of Arabia. He tells us stories, some from the mouths of his Arab friends and some from his own, and he does it well, for he is "a practiced raconteur" like his tribal Arab. "Breezy narratives" Sir A. T. Wilson calls them and they are that; there is nothing dull or stale about them. You "see the caravan and hear the tinkle of the bells on the roads beyond the towns . . . see the peasants working in the date groves, the armed men levying tribute from the villages . . . the Sultan holding his court and the tribes milking their camels." The book consists of five sections, each called an Adventure. The first two describe experiences in Lower Mesopotamia, one at the end of the World War and the other during the Arab Rising of 1921-2 when the author was a Political Officer there. The other three Adventures describe journeys in Oman where he was Prime Minister to the Sultan.

The book is well gotten up, with no misprints, and the illustrations are good. The reviewer questions some of the transliterations of Arabic words and names. Although scarcely two persons use the same scheme, yet, *inter alia,* the Mesopotamian shaikh's reception or guest hall is *mudhif* by formation and not *madhif* (p. 47 *et al.*) and by no means can *ketebet Allah* (p. 258) go unchallenged! In the Note (p. 25) on *Jihad,* Holy War, Mr. Thomas calls this one of the five tenets of Islam. This it is not, but some add it to the Five Duties which every true Moslem must perform.

In conclusion, whoever is interested in missions in Arabia or a like country must read this book for an insight into the problem faced, and whoever enjoys human interest tales and descriptive writing in the King's English ought to do so.

F. J. Barny.

Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph. D. The Sheldon Press, London, 1931. pp. 276. 12/6 net.

Dr. Margaret Smith has given us in this volume the best account of the rise and development of Mysticism in Islam and its relationship to early Christian Mysticism. Although the book deals only with the earliest period of Islamic Mysticism, this period is the most important. The first part (pp. 1-102) traces the rise and the history of Christian Asceticism, the Monastic life and Mysticism in the Near and Middle East. Here we see the germs from which the whole system of Sufism grew. Islam took its origin in a Christian environment. Not only in the countries adjacent to Arabia, but in Arabia itself the influence of Christianity was far stronger than is generally admitted. Even after the rise of Islam "Christian influence was not altogether at an end in Arabia, for towards the end of the eighth century the Catholicos Timothy consecrated a bishop named Peter for Yaman and San'a, and the Catholicos John V. wrote a letter in A. D. 901 to a priest named Hasan, who lived in Yaman, answering certain questions which Hasan had addressed to him."

The author sketches the influence of Christian Mysticism on orthodox Islam from the outset. The social, economic and religious influence of the Christian peoples was exerted in every way, even when they became minorities in Church and State. "We can hardly measure the effect of this vast undercurrent of Christian belief existing within Islam itself, and gradually leavening the mass of orthodoxy with the germs of that which was to become the most vital element in the religion of Islam, sowing the seeds of that which was to blossom into a fair flower springing from soil apparently barren—Sufism, and its strange unlikeness to that faith in which it had its origin, and its still stranger likeness to the faith which Islam sought to supersede and to destroy."

The second part of the book covers more familiar ground, portions of which have already been explored by the same author in earlier books. She traces the rise of Sufism and the early Ascetic ideals, tells of the mystical doctrines of early Sufism, sketches the lives of some of the early Mystics, and in a final chapter gives conclusions. "In reviewing the history of the rise and development of early Islamic Mysticism, while giving full consideration to the possibility of a direct Hellenic influence, and of the introduction of Buddhistic ideas, it would appear to have been influenced in the main by the teaching of Christian Mysticism, an influence which was exerted indirectly through orthodox Islam itself, and directly through the teaching of the Christian mystics, transmitted orally by their disciples and followers, or by means of their writings."

The bibliography is excellent, although the work of Dr. J. C. Archer, "Mystical Elements in Mohammed" and some important German works, including the recent contribution of Gottfried Simon, are omitted. Z.

The Golden East. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. Lincoln Mac Veagh, The Dial Press, New York, 1931. (Illustrated.) pp. 288. $5.

"This, then, is a travel book with a purpose." Thus the author in his Preface. His travels take him to Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordania, Mecca, Baghdad, Turkestan and India, but the travel feature is soon lost sight of amid stories and disquisitions. The chapter on

Desert Raiders is very crude romancing, entirely lacking in verisimilitude. When relating experiences, the author always places himself in the centre of the picture and always comes off the best! Evidently these travel stories are not to be taken too seriously.

The purpose stated is to answer the question—Whither is Islam tending? He answers it: "I have come to the conclusion that a change might come upon the face of Islam, but on its mind, never." Interesting if true, but we do not think he proves his case, not even as regards his own mind. He also thinks that the trend is toward Pan-Islam, notwithstanding nationalist tendencies on all sides.

The illustrations are really beautiful and the publishers' part is well done. However the spelling of foreign names is atrocious, and as for geography, Mohammera is placed on the Persian Gulf and Baghdad on the Euphrates! F. J. BARNY.

Der Islam, wie ich ihn Sah. By H. Schönberger. Verlag Evangelische Mohammedanermission, Wiesbaden, 1931. pp. 39.

The author of this little book describes in a graphic way Islam in Upper Egypt, as he became acquainted with it during several years of activity as a missionary in Assuan. He emphasizes the intrinsic religious zeal of the Egyptian Mohammedans, especially when praying and fasting. But at the same time, he gives one a deep insight into the superficiality and shallowness of their religious life; and the condition of Mohammedan womanhood is not glossed over by the author. To be sure, movements have asserted themselves lately in Upper Egypt, which may contribute to the fact that Schönberger could recognize noticeable attention whenever the Gospel was preached to Egyptian Mohammedans. He is of the opinion that the opposition of the Mohammedans is on the decrease, but at the same time, he is apprehensive of the danger that irreligion will take the place of Islam; nevertheless, he hopes that the Gospel, after all, may have its opportunity later on.

GOTTFRIED SIMON.

A Grammar of the Dargwa Language. By L. Zhirkoff. Moscow, 1926. pp. 103.

The Development of the Japhethidological Theory. By N. Marr. Moscow-Leningrad, 1926. pp. viii + 387.

A Japhethidological Bibliography. By N. Marr. Leningrad, 1926. pp. 32.

Materials for the Kabardey Dictionary. By N. Yakovleff. Moscow, 1927. pp. xcvi + 134 and a table of transliteration.

The Monuments of the Bulgaro-Tatar Culture on the Volga River. By A. Bashkiroff. Kazan, 1929. pp. 117 with 15 plates.

Talysh Texts. By B. Miller. Moscow, 1930. pp. xxxiv + 261.

These six Russian books, published by the Committee for the Study of Languages and Ethnical Culture of the Oriental Peoples in U.S.S.R., unfortunately reached the editor of THE MOSLEM WORLD rather too late. The most interesting of them, certainly, is the first mentioned work of Marr, a professor, a member of the Academy of Sciences, and the best Russian Orientalist of the older generation. He is, at the same time, the creator of the "famous" Japhethid theory. According to the general opinion of European scholars, this theory was brilliant in

conception at first, but now finally Marr has gone too far and his theory has strayed into error. The grammar of the Dargwa language (the dialect of a tribe in Daghestan, at Northern Caucasus) and the Talysh texts give good enough linguistic material for the study of little known idioms (both books are provided with French summaries). The Materials for the Kabardey dictionary (a Cherkess dialect at Northern Caucasus), with English translation, is a pretentious work; the system of transliteration is almost incomprehensible. The book of Mr. Bashkiroff (The Monuments etc.) gives us a very good condensed description of the Bulgar monuments near Kazan and also shows the author's deep knowledge of the previous literature of the subject; it is too bad that he has in many places inserted his political ideas. The Japhethidological bibliography by Marr will be extremely useful for all Orientalists.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

Fahrten, Pfadfinder und Beduinen in den Wüsten Ägyptens. By André Von Dumreicher. Drei Masken Verlag, München, 1931. pp. 243. M. 10.

The author served under the Egyptian Government from 1900 to 1905 as Director of the Coast Guards and Camel Corps, and gives a most interesting picture of the life among the Bedouin on the borders of Egypt. It is a late pre-war book, but well written and with excellent and unusual illustrations; a fascinating account of encounters with pilgrims to Mecca, hashshish-smugglers and rebel tribes. An English translation has just appeared and will receive notice in our next issue.

Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering

Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

The Highlands of Persian Baluchistan. C. P. Skrine. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. October, 1931. pp. 321-338.)

The plateau of Sarhad; termed "Highlands" both because of the height of its mountains and also because of the wildness and ferocity of the hill tribes inhabiting it.

La Monoculture en Égypte et la Crise Actuelle. G. Blanchard. (In *L'Afrique Française.* Renseignements Coloniaux, Paris. September, 1931. pp. 505-514.)

An analysis of the dangerous economic situation resulting from the too exclusive attention given in Egypt to the cultivation of the one crop—cotton.

II. ARABIA.

Un nouvel État dans l'Arabie centrale. H. Lammens. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Rivet. (Alger.) May, 1931. pp. 179-185.)

High lights in the formation of Ibn Sa'oud's kingdom; translated from Arabic and first published in the January, 1931, issue of *Al Machriq.*

Poets in Early Arabia. M. Z. Siddíqí. (In *The Calcutta Review,* Calcutta. September, 1931. pp. 424-432.)

Gives instances of the high esteem in which poets were held, their power and influence; and notes the protection and encouragement given them by Mohammed and his successors.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

The Life and Times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā the Ṣulaiḥid of the Yemen. Husain F. Al-Hamdāni. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1931. pp. 505-516.)

Pictures a ruler during the Middle Ages, an Arabian queen of unique ability as a statesman, and of outstanding personality.

The Pronunciation of the Formula of the Muhammadan Declaration of Faith. A. Fischer. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. October, 1931. pp. 844-855.)

A discussion of various authorities with quotations in Arabic.

The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades. D. C. Munro. (In *Speculum,* Cambridge, Mass. July, 1931. pp. 329-343.)

Instances the methods of false propaganda against the Moslems employed by the Christians, and speaks of the great missionary activity of the thirteenth century.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

Denial of the Qur'ān: a logical inconsistency. Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. August, 1931. pp. 279-282.)

A summary of some basic moral principles, universally recognized, which "owe their origin to the Qur'án"; and which are not found in the Bible except by a twisted interpretation.

Mystic Islam. Dhirendra Nath Chowdhuri. (In the *Modern Review,* Calcutta. August, 1931. pp. 166-169.)

Claims that it is in their mystical elements that Christianity and Islam find their common meeting ground.

A Question for the Serious Consideration of the Modernists. Unsigned. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. August, 1931. pp. 267-270.)

Since the Modernists reject the divinity of Christ, and accept many of the principles and tenets which do not come from Jesus but which are found in the Qur'án, why do they refuse their allegiance to Mohammed as guide and teacher?

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Étude sur la Tribu des 'Arib. Lieutenant Terrasson. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Renseignments Coloniaux, Paris. August, 1931. pp. 444-455.)

An ethnological study of a Sahara community of some four hundred tents, forming a sort of Arab Confederacy.

La Famille Indigène en Algérie. Lechani. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Rivet (Alger). July-August, 1931. pp. 253-257.)

A general discussion, indicating the patriarchal system, the position of women, and customs relating to marriage, divorce and children.

La Femme Musulmane: enquête dans le Nord-Africain. Fernande Lucas. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Rivet (Alger). May, 1931. pp. 186-191.)

A digest of recent articles on the subject which have appeared in various north African periodicals.

Recent Changes in the Outlook of Women in the Near and Middle East. E. N. Aidin. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1931. pp. 518-526.)

Limited to Persian women living in the towns; the chief factors bringing about a change are found to be the Shah himself, easier communication with the coast and the world, and the great emphasis now being laid on education.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

The Iraq Treaty, 1931. S. G. Vesey—Fitzgerald. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1931. pp. 625-631.)

Discusses chiefly what, under the terms of this treaty, are the respective responsibilities of Great Britain and of the League of Nations as to the protection of the Christian minorities in this state where Islam is the legally established religion.

The Minorities in Iraq. F. N. Heazell. (In *The Christian East,* London. Summer, 1931. pp. 57-60.)

A vigorous protest against red tape and official indifference by the mandatory power which has resulted in abandoning the Assyrian Christians to the degrading limitations put upon them by the Arab government.

Le Nationalisme Musulman en Tunisie. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. August, 1931. pp. 521-524.)

Studies of recent issues of the *Voix du Tunisien,* giving numerous extracts to indicate the nationalist temper of the journal.

The Plight of the Assyrians in Iraq. Petros D. Yoseph. (In *World Dominion,* London. Ocotber, 1931. pp. 406-410.)

Desperate conditions in which are living the Assyrians scattered in the villages north of Mosul, among the Arabs and Kurds.

Soviet Press Comments on the Capture of Ibrahim Bey. "Observer." (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1931. pp. 686-692.)

The set-back received by the Basmatchi movement in Turkestan in the capture of its famous leader is interpreted in general as decisive in the struggle between the national elements of Turkestan and the Soviet Power.

Turkestan and the Soviet Régime. Mustafa Chokayev. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. July, 1931. pp. 403-420.)

A résumé of the usurpation of power by the Soviets whereby "The Russian freedom meant death by famine, raids by the Red guards, executions without trials, wholesale confiscations and requisitions." Materials are drawn entirely from the official sources of the Bolsheviks.

ZIONISM AND ARAB ASPIRATIONS. M. R. Akhtar. (In *Jewish-Arab Affairs,* Jerusalem. June, 1931. pp. 15-27.)

Emphasizes the fundamental necessity of social cooperation before any progress towards a real solution of the present *impasse* is made.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

CALVINISM AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM. S. M. Zwemer. (In the *Union Seminary Review,* Richmond. July, 1931. pp. 357-366.)

A comparison of the similarity in spirit of the two theologies indicates one strong reason why "the Calvinistic churches entered the world of Islam earlier and more vigorously than any other group of churches" and why these Calvinistic churches are peculiarly adapted for the work of Moslem evangelization.

LES MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES EN AFRIQUE ORIENTALE. Agence Fides. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Rivet (Alger). July-August, 1931. pp. 274-281.)

Summarizes briefly, district by district, the work of Catholic missionaries in South Africa, and indicates the two great difficulties encountered there—Islam and the Protestant missions.

LES MISSIONS PROTESTANTES ET LES NORD-AFRICAINS EN FRANCE. Paul Catrice. (In *En Terre d' Islam,* Rivet (Alger). May, 1931. pp. 200-203.)

Describes, with little comment, two pieces of social and evangelistic work, undertaken at Lyons and at Paris.

TREKKING IN CENTRAL ASIA—the report. Evangeline French, Mildred Cable, and Francesca French. (In *World Dominion,* London. October, 1931. pp. 330-343.)

For previous chapters see notes in THE MOSLEM WORLD for October, 1931.

WHY I LEFT ISLAM FOR CHRIST. M. A. Qayyum Daskawie. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. August, 1931. pp. 593-596.)

A profound personal experience described and the results appraised in the light of ten years of Christian work.

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